



1966

Richard of St. Victor and Secular Learning

William Vrasdonk

Loyola University Chicago

Recommended Citation

Vrasdonk, William, "Richard of St. Victor and Secular Learning" (1966). *Master's Theses*. Paper 2220.
http://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_theses/2220

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses and Dissertations at Loyola eCommons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of Loyola eCommons. For more information, please contact ecommons@luc.edu.



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works 3.0 License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/).
Copyright © 1966 William Vrasdonk

RICHARD OF ST. VICTOR AND
SECULAR LEARNING

By

William Vrasdonk

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

January

1966

VITA

The present writer was born in Bergen Nh, Netherlands, June 26, 1932.

He studied humanities in Arceen (L), Netherlands, at St. Paul College, 1946-1952.

He studied philosophy and theology at Julius Maximilian University, Würzburg, Germany, 1953-1958.

After three years of special studies (1958-1961) at the University of Nijmegen, Netherlands, he took his doctor examination in moral theology.

He was a novice-master of the Foreign Mission Society Mariannhil in the Netherlands, 1961-1964.

He came to the United States of America in 1965 where he studied at Loyola University, Chicago in preparation for the degree of Master of Arts in Education.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
II.	EDUCATION IN THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES	3
III.	THE ABBEY OF ST. VICTOR	11
IV.	RICHARD OF ST. VICTOR	17
V.	THE QUESTION OF AUTHORSHIP	21
VI.	THE <u>LIBER EXCEPTIONUM</u>	28
	A. The Title and Some of the Sources of the <u>Libri Exceptionum</u>	35
	B. The Question of Authorship	41
	C. Chronological Problems	42
	D. The Success and Influence of the <u>Libri Exceptionum</u>	44
	E. A General Intuitive Approach	48
	F. Part I of the <u>Libri Exceptionum</u>	54
VII.	RICHARD'S OUTLOOK ON SECULAR LEARNING IN SOME OF HIS OTHER WRITINGS	58
	A. Richard's Theory of Learning in <u>De Trinitate</u>	59
	B. Richard's Theory of Learning in the <u>De Eruditione Hominis Interioris</u>	66
VIII.	CONCLUSION	75

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

NEED FOR THE STUDY

There are many who have written about the life of Richard of St. Victor.¹ However, as far as I know, no one has done research concerning Richard's evaluation of secular learning. Other writers have interested themselves in Richard as far as his importance to theology and his doctrine on mystics are concerned.

The difference in purpose and approach between the efforts of other men and this thesis is that the author is concerned especially with Richard's evaluation of secular learning. Moreover, in our day the attitude to secular learning has been changed in the ways in which Scholasticism, Rationalism etc. in philosophy have had to make room for Existentialism. In this light the thesis probes some relationships between a segment of medieval thought and some existentialist thinking today. From this point of view this thesis tries to focus on an evaluation of secular learning.

SCOPE AND PROCEDURE

To present then this work and theory the following procedure has been

¹Cf. Bibliography, p. 101.

used. In the next three chapters, an attempt is made to bring out the situation of education in the eleventh and twelfth Centuries to indicate the importance of the Abbey of St. Victor and its well-known sub-prior and prior, Richard. The following chapters deal with the question of authorship, especially since we do not know exactly which books have been written by Richard of St. Victor. Some books are questionable and that makes our evaluation in this matter difficult. Next Richard's outlook on secular learning, as given in some of his writings, is shown. Finally, within these boundaries and with these admitted limitations, the contribution of Richard's thought to an evaluation of secular learning in our day is delineated, especially since some existentialists criticize its value in a remarkable way by stating that much of our cultural tradition and of our ideologies are self-deceit (Sartre: *mauvaise fois*.) and have to be destroyed. The relationship between Existentialism and medieval thought will be shown in the discussion about self-knowledge and Christian Socratism.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION IN THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES

During the fourth century, confusion spread throughout the Roman Empire as the once solid state institutions began to crumble. Many of the emperors were incompetent and, despite temporary military success, the Western Empire gradually disintegrated, while the East was shaken by the terrific attacks of the Persians and other aggressors. Like other Roman institutions, the schools were in a state of decline. Finally the schools of the classical period vanished in the West, and the foundation of the medieval institutions were laid.

The Middle Ages lasted for almost a thousand years. The first half, commonly called the "Dark Ages", stretched from the days of Clovis, who was baptized in 496, to the Ottos, who revived the Roman Empire in the latter part of the tenth century. Charlemagne was crowned Roman Emperor in the year 800 and brought the Roman Empire to new height of institutional development. Two events date the decay of the older education and the beginning of a revival: the closing of the schools of Athens in 529, and the founding of Luxeuil in 585; Luxeuil was the first of those continental monastic schools which were to exert so salutary an influence on education by preserving the books of the past, and by developing the scholars of the future.¹ Modern civilization owes

¹McSorley, Joseph, An Outline History of the Church by Centuries (St. Louis, 1948), p. 159.

a debt to the men who were pioneers in the monastic movements.

During the time that intellectual activity slackened and schools dwindled both in numbers and in efficiency, the monasteries continued to be educational centers. But in many places the pupils, usually children of the upper classes destined for the clerical or monastic vocation, received a minimum of academic training. Catholic Africa disappeared under the devastating influence of Islam; Italy suffered from the Lombard wars. Learning was at a particularly low level and writers were frequently too ignorant of syntax to develop ideas intelligently and the very script revealed decadence. On the other hand, the cathedral schools of Toledo and Seville maintained a standard of excellence which is reflected in the education imparted to the astonishing Isidore.

The monasteries of Ireland had become the chief centers of study in Western Christendom; for Ireland, having escaped the barbarian invasion, stood out in sharp contrast to other countries, and the Irish contribution to culture was priceless. Irish monasteries sent masters abroad to establish and conduct schools in many lands. The founding of several great Benedictine monasteries foreshadowed the cultural revival inaugurated by Charlemagne, who, voicing his dissatisfaction with the ignorance of the Franks, enacted decrees designed to improve the intellectual status not only of churchmen, but of his subjects generally.

The reign of Charles the Great (Charlemagne), King of the Franks and first Holy Roman Emperor, witnessed to some degree a return of letters and learning. He was faced with an ever-present problem of rulers: the optimum use of talent. His approach was a class-oriented view, but one, unlike

Plato's, conceived of leadership as stressing a "given authority". This theory came to be known as "Divine Right of Kings". The major similarity between the ninth century system and the pre-Christian system of Plato was that both sought to find a position for each man consonant with his natural abilities. Both sought thereby to strengthen their respective societies, but with different ends in view. Plato sought an aristocracy of the intellect; Charlemagne sought capable minds to assist the "given" (rightful) aristocracy whose rule was "preordained by God". To Charlemagne there were classes of men meant to follow and others meant to lead. Birth was not just a cosmic accident; God had ordained the privileged to rule and the less fortunate and less talented to work out the orders of the privileged. Charlemagne realized that his hopes for literate officials called for a much more effective and much more widespread system of education than prevailed in his day. He spent much time giving encouragement to the setting up of schools in connection with parish churches in various parts of the Empire. The selection of students to receive literacy training was left in the hands of the parish priests. One major objective of the education of the privileged was to offer leadership and thereby protection to the masses. The world was viewed as a cosmic system governed by immutable laws. Man's task was to survive in the hostile world and to prepare for the next (spiritual) world through religious teachings.¹

This movement rescued culture from a slow death; and it found an educational foundation firm enough to survive the collapse of the Carolingian

¹Beck, Carlton E., Philosophical Foundations of Guidance (Prentice-Hall, Inc., second printing, 1964), p. 16.

Empire itself. In this sense, we can only understand the outlook and culture which the Middle Ages were to produce by a knowledge of its origins in the eighth and ninth centuries. It was important that, culturally, the Empire of Charles the Great took for its model the heritage of the ancient world. Its aim was also to continue the classical tradition. As Alcuin, the inspiration of Carolingian learning, put it in one of his letters to Charlemagne, "If your intentions are carried out it may be that a new Athens will arise in France, and an Athens fairer than of old, for our Athens, enobled by the teachings of Christ, will surpass the wisdom of the Academy."² This statement shows both the continuity and difference of the Carolingian revival with the past. It was not merely the Athens of old to which Alcuin aspired, it was an Athens in a Christian setting. Moreover, as mentioned above, the Empire of Charlemagne was a theocracy with an outlook far removed from the past. Only through a literate and trained clergy could a theocracy endure. So it is understandable that the controls of Carolingian education were in the hands of the clergy. Thus we see a conscious educational policy designed to stimulate learning. Its end was a Christian one, and it was not merely concerned with reviving the philosophical speculations of classical times, but moreover to train ecclesiastics in an understanding of the scriptures. In this light we must judge the Carolingian revival. Its object was not the attainment of new truths, but an understanding of the established truths found in the Bible and the writings of the Fathers. We will see how significant this is in Richard of St. Victor's philosophy of education.

²Leff, G. A., Medieval Thought (Merlin, London 1959), p. 55.

The inspiration and guiding spirit of this educational system was Alcuin. His background was composed in part by a religious spirit resulting from the fusion of two streams of Benedictine monasticism and Irish monasticism, the main repository of culture which preserved its schools and its knowledge of Greek during the centuries when the continent was lapsing into ignorance. By the missionary activity of the Irish monks, Christianity had been brought to Scotland and Northumbria in Northern England. There they met the mission of Augustine, who had been sent to England by Gregory the Great in 596. Under the influence of the Greek Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Church was reorganized and grew in effectiveness. At the same time Benedictine monasticism with its tradition of learning was introduced by Benedict Biscop. His two foundations at Wearmouth (674) and Jarrow (681), richly endowed with books, became the sources of Northumbrian culture. Here in Northumbria lived the Venerable Bede (672-735), who is called the first English historian and the most learned man of his day. His work and teaching gave the impetus to learning, and his pupil, Egbert, who became Archbishop of York, established a school there. As master of the school Egbert was succeeded by his pupil Alcuin (735-804), and Charlemagne invited Alcuin to take charge of his palace school at Aachen.³ Thus it was that the Carolingian renaissance was brought to birth. Alcuin's far reaching reforms were to become a permanent part of medieval education. His educational achievements formed the starting point for the renewal of learning in the eleventh century.

³Alcuin has therefore been called the first minister of education. Cf. McSorley, An Outline History of the Church by Centuries, p. 212.

Three aspects of this renewal are noteworthy: in the first place these achievements established the seven liberal arts as the basic curriculum, and designated with them the basic texts for study. The seven liberal arts were divided into the Trivium (Grammar, Rhetoric and Logic), and the Quadrivium (Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, and Music). Throughout the following centuries these subjects were the foundation of all university courses. In the second place, the organization of all teaching into monastic and cathedral schools maintained continuity in learning until the universities became the main centers of learning: during the ninth and tenth centuries, the monastic schools had remained the main seats of education at such centers as Tours, Fulda, Reichenau, under men like Raban Maur and Walafriid Strabo. In the eleventh century, however, the cathedral schools assumed leadership, in turn giving place to the universities. In the third place, one of Alcuin's special achievements had been his emphasis upon correct writing and the proper copying of manuals as measures for the preservation of literacy. This had led to the copying of most of the classical authors during the next two centuries, an achievement that very largely facilitated the great development of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. As controller of the writing school, Alcuin succeeded in developing a clear script, the Carolingian minuscule, and this standard of writing produced some of the finest manuscripts of the Middle Ages.

It would be wrong to think of the revival of learning as entirely the work of one man. To Charlemagne must be given a reward for conceiving this revival and for gathering about him an international company of scholars to help in its realization. For instance Paul the Deacon, who wrote a history of the Lombards; Peter of Pisa who taught Latin at the Palatine school and had

Charlemagne among his pupils; Angobard, Archbishop of Lyons; and Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans. With Alcuin's death the flow of reformers did not abate. He was succeeded at his own monastery of Tours by his pupil and countryman Fredegisus, who was a speculative philosopher. Alcuin's pupil, Raban Maur, carried the Carolingian reforms into Germany. He was the founder of German education. His De Clericorum Institutione became a handbook for educating the clergy. Like Alcuin, he stressed the necessity of the seven liberal arts and justified the study of pagan writers, like the Platonists, not for their own sake but as constituting an aid to Christian understanding. In accordance with the Carolingian tradition, Raban compiled an encyclopedia known as De Universo. Among the second generation of Carolingian thinkers the importance of exegesis increased and showed the fruits of their forebears.

Thus, the Carolingian achievements laid the groundwork of a coherent body of knowledge and a method of study. Yet, while the Carolingian reformers had provided these essential prerequisites for the renaissance in the eleventh century, the latter was quite different in its development. In the first place, it extended to the greater part of Christendom. Starting in North Italy and France, it subsequently spread to England, Germany (mainly in the South and in the West), Southern Italy and Sicily, and to the northern areas of Spain. The renaissance of the eleventh century became a broad front embracing most of the learning centers of Western Europe. This universal aspect was more than one of geography; it was also one of outlook. The renaissance of the eleventh century became the real synthesis of a universal outlook which passed by the egocentric interests of individuals and national groups. This universal culture informed education from the eleventh to the fourteenth century and it was

transmitted by a common language, Latin. When we read the books of that time, we will not think of Thomas Aquinas as Italian or Dun Scotus as Scottish. Their treatises are outside a particular place and no national distinctions can be made. The centers of learning were themselves composed of diverse nationalities, the staff as well as the students. In the case of the universities students were usually grouped by nationality.

The second important trait of the renaissance of the eleventh century was the diversity within its overall framework in comparison with the Carolingian reforms. The latter reforms were more the result of a deliberate act of policy and legislation; their products bore a common character and their scope was more limited. In the eleventh century the overall picture of the centers of learning showed more differences. For instance, there was a distinction between north and south of the Alps. School south of the Alps were located in the cities without marked connections with a particular monastery or church. In the North the culture was more ecclesiastical, related to a cathedral. Therefore, we see two regions in which education developed in different directions.

North of the Alps the cathedral schools became the most important and widespread centers of education. Many cathedrals were previously without schools. However, between c.1050 and c.1200 every cathedral had one, under the chancellor of the diocese. Well-known cathedral schools of that time are Chartres, Laon, Paris, and Orleans. As the church moved from strength to strength, the schools became the most illustrious centers of culture. Meanwhile the monastic schools tended increasingly towards religious education. However, the monasteries still continued to be among the main cultural centers

and they exerted great influence. One would imagine that it was a time of monastic fervour, since monks made up the majority of educated men. For instance, in England, during the first half of the eleventh century, religious vocations numbered perhaps fifteen thousand in a total population of some three million.⁵ On the continent, after the flourishing days of the Abbey of Cluny were over, new foundations of monasteries were formed and most of them were established in accordance to some interpretation of the monastic rule of St. Benedict (480-543). Popular favor swung from the Black Monks (Benedictines) to the White Monks (Cistercians), who established some seventy abbeys within less than a hundred years. Their great founder was St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153). In addition to the Carthusians and the Premonstratensians there were the Canons of St. Victor, the Carmelites, the Beguines. The monasteries were the chief repositories of books and in men like Lanfranc, St. Anselm, St. Bernard, they possessed some of the giants of the time. From an intellectual point of view they represented the older tradition: their approach to theology was still through meditation rather than by dialectics; the writing of history was one of their main pursuits at a time when, in the schools, dialectics was ousting the more literary activities.

It has been stated above that the monastic schools tended increasingly towards religious education. However, Monte Casino in Italy in the second

⁵ An Outline History of the Church by Centuries, p. 347.

half of the eleventh century greatly stimulated learning, especially medicine.⁶ Two outstanding examples of monastic culture which had an important influence were Monte Casino and Bec in Normandy. Bec was one of the most influential centers of theology under Lanfranc of Canterbury (c.1005-1089) and his pupil Anselm (1033-1109); their writings, particularly Anselm's were powerful forces in changing the intellectual climate.

The urban schools in northern Italy were remarkably different from the cathedral schools north of the Alps. The urban schools were not only independent of ecclesiastical control but they were largely secular in interests: theology and philosophy were more to be found in the cathedral schools, but the urban schools were primarily devoted to the study of law and medicine. North of the Alps there was no parallel to the school of Bologna, which had become the center of legal studies at the end of the eleventh century. The universities which sprang up north and south of the Alps were, therefore, largely the products of these initial differences. One of the reasons why universities came to exist was: economic progress which caused writing and illuminating to be taken over by a new professional or commercial class on the one hand, and on the other hand monasteries which in many cases no longer symbolized simplicity, poverty, and unworldliness. Consequently the fervor of the monks declined. Monks were classified as "great capitalists whose incomes were not the result of any work or employment of the religious life as such."

⁶Medieval Thought, p. 89. (Much of the medical science in those days was a Greek inheritance transmitted through the Moslems to medieval Europe. Cf. An Outline History of the Church by Centuries, p. 313.) (Salerno has been the chief European home of medical science. p. 313).

The new universities now held the intellectual front.

The roots of modern education really run back to the intellectual revival of the eleventh twelfth centuries when the Church schools, especially in France, deepened general interest in literature and facilitated the progress of physical and historical science. In thought, the eleventh and twelfth centuries were the centuries of resawakening everywhere. Whatever the subject, there was a universal sense of discovery. The eleventh century, in particular, witnessed a genuine renaissance in the humane studies, and at first letters and style were the main preoccupations. Only in the second half of the twelfth century did the more specialized techniques of dialect come to dominate the scene until, in the thirteenth century, philosophical and theological speculation had ousted other pursuits. In the twelfth century, in contrast to the ever-widening domain of dialectic, we see the equally new form of mysticism. This was more than the sheer rejection of reason. It constituted an inner experience of God, transcending all ordinary understanding. St. Bernard of Clairvaux and Hugh and Richard of St. Victor were its leading, though very different leaders.

Aristotle's works reached the West in the twelfth century. The effect on Western thought was great. At first Aristotle's thought became a medley of Neoplatonic emanations and separated intelligence; ultimately the understanding of Aristotle changed because of the new translations of the thirteenth century. This led to Aristotle becoming the main authority for the study of philosophy in the Arts faculties of the universities and his philosophy predominated in and out of the universities.

CHAPTER III

THE ABBEY OF ST. VICTOR

Before 1108 St. Victor was a small hermitage dedicated to St. Victor, the soldier-martyr. It was situated near the old city of Paris. In the year 1108 the famous William of Champeaux, archdeacon of Notre Dame in Paris, who had been lecturing to crowds of students, relinquished his chair and retired to St. Victor. Here he was followed by many of his disciples and induced again to take up his lectures. One reason for William's retirement may have been Abelard who was critical of William's ideas. Abelard was particularly censorious of those concepts which seemed to sacrifice the individual to preserve the unity of the species.¹ Much of Abelard's fire was directed against William of Champeaux, whose retirement caused St. Victor in Paris to develop into the famous Abbey and School of St. Victor.² Its canons acquired wide influence and the name of their institution became the Royal Abbey and School of St. Victor.

The Abbey was soon richly endowed by the generosity of popes, kings, queens, and noblemen. The influence of its canons can be seen in their

¹Leff, G. A., Medieval Thought, p. 106.

²McSorley, Joseph, An Outline History of the Church by Centuries, p. 349.

reformation of numerous religious houses like Ste-Genevieve (Paris), Wignore (Wales), St. Augustine (Bristol), St. Catherine (Waterford), St. Thomas (Dublin), and St. Peter (Aram, Naples).³ In the last will of King Louis VIII at least forty abbeys of the order of St. Victor are mentioned; the king left all his jewels for the erection of the abbey church and 4000 pounds were to be equally divided among the mentioned abbeys. Already before the Abbey of St. Victor was 160 years old, at least eight abbots and several cardinals, all sons of St. Victor's, were directors of as many abbeys. Among them were John, Abbot of Ste-Genevieve (Paris), and Andrew, an Englishman, Abbot of Wignore (Wales).

William of Champeaux was a man of learning and education and was himself Abelard's teacher for a time at Paris. His career, like that of Abelard and Roscelin, testifies to the growing influence of individual masters. He had studied under Manegold, Anselm of Laon, and Roscelin, whom he opposed before becoming a teacher. This is the influence of reason upon mysticism of the Victorines. The traditions of William of Champeaux were handed on and St. Victor's became a center of piety and learning. Together with Ste-Gevieve and Notre Dame it was the cradle of the University of Paris. St. Victor became a famous name in the world of education and crowds of students from different countries visited this place of learning. Among them were men like Hugh of Blankenberg, better known as Hugh of St. Victor, called the St. Augustine of his time; Richard, a Scotchman, the Mystic Doctor; Adam, the Poet of the Middle

³Cf. The Catholic Encyclopedia, (New York, The Encyclopedia Press, Inc. 1912), Vol. XIII, article by A. Allaria.

Ages; Peter Comestor, the historian; Peter Lombard, the "magister sententiarum"; Thomas, Abbot of St. Andrew's (Vercell), to whom St. Francis of Assisi sent St. Anthony of Padua for his theological studies; another Thomas, prior at the abbey who, nearly fifty years before his namesake of Canterbury, gave his life for justice' sake. To St. Victor's came, only four months before his martyrdom, Thomas a Becket and addressed his brother canons on the words: "In pace factus est locus e jus."⁴

During Richard's days (1155-1173) there were complaints about the Abbot, Ervisius, whose building-activities were going beyond the necessary limitations. Pope Alexander III had to intervene to put affairs in order. The new Abbot, Guarinus, described signs of decay; older canons died and no young canons were entering their community; the spiritual life itself was declining.⁵ At the end of the fifteenth century, after the Windesheim congregation was newly established, some efforts were made to reform the abbey by bringing in canons from Windesheim; but in vain. A few years later Cardinal Laroche-foucauld attempted to reform it and failed also. The canons, moreover, were implicated in the Jansenist movement; only one, the Venerable Jourdan, remained faithful to the old spirit and tradition.

The end of the abbey came with the French revolution. In 1800 the church and the other buildings were sold, the famous library was dispersed, and a few years later everything had disappeared. Its name, however, is still well-known.

⁴Idea, : "His place is made in peace".

⁵Cf. P. L., 196, col. 1375 D, Notitia in Guarinum, (Cf. Gall. Christ., VII, col. 669).

CHAPTER IV

RICHARD OF ST. VICTOR

The books concerning Richard of St. Victor relate very few historical facts about his life. The authors may draw different conclusions from these facts, but they can not go far beyond them. Their common source is a biography of Richard by John of Toulouse.¹ An analysis of this biography in comparison with some other authors allows us a certain insight into Richard's life. John of Toulouse seems to indicate that Richard is a Scot: "Richardus natione Scotus..." However, there is some confusion among some authors whether "Scotus" means Scot or Irish. Webster's dictionary says:

"Scot...(A.S. Scottas, pl LL. Scotus, Scottus), 1. a member of a Gaelic tribe of northern Ireland that migrated to Scotland in the 5th century A.D."

Professor dr. E. Hendrikx claims that the translation of "Scotia" is often "Ireland."² Consequently we are not certain whether Richard was of Irish or Scottish descent.

John of Toulouse proceeds to mention that Richard entered the Abbey

¹p.L. 196, p. IX: "Richardi canonici et prioris S. Victoris Parisiensis vita ex libro V Antiquitatum ejusdem Ecclesiae, cap. 55, (Edit. Opp. anni 1650, Rothomagi, in-fol.

Cf. p. XIII: (Haec ex scriniis chartarum et manuscriptis codicibus depromebat F. Joannes a Tolosa, canonicus Sancti Victoris Paris.)

²University Nijmegen, Netherlands; lectures 1960/61 about Richard of St. Victor.

of St. Victor under Abbot Gilduinus and that Hugh of St. Victor was his teacher. But Hugh died in 1141; therefore, in accordance with other historical facts, many authors doubt or deny that Richard was already a canon of St. Victor before 1141. Be that as it may, Richard might properly be called Hugh's disciple in the broader sense because the influence of Hugh was felt far beyond the abbey walls. John of Toulouse also mentions that Richard became subprior about 1159 because he signed a title-deed as subprior in that year. In light of this fact, there is consensus among the various authors that Richard entered the Abbey between 1153 and 1155. John indicates that Richard became prior of St. Victor in 1162 after the death of Nanterus, the former prior. During that period he had many troubles dealing with the many complaints about his Abbot Ervisius. This case, as mentioned above, was brought to Rome and Richard as the prior was involved in many investigations and much correspondence concerning this particular matter.³ It is remarkable that a man like Richard, who had to deal with all the complaints about his abbot, and who was involved in those negotiations between St. Victor's and Rome, and between the community and its superiors, was still able to write so many books of such high spiritual quality. This prior of St. Victor was well-known for his spirituality and his writings, and he received letters asking him to write on subjects of special interest to his correspondents.⁴

³Cf. P.L. 200, col. 675; (Letters from Pope Alexander III) Epistolae: 730 - 853 - 854 - 1197 - 1198.

Cf. P.L. 196, col. 1375 D, Notitia in Quarinum.

Cf. *ibid.*, col. 1387 D, Epistolae Guarini Abbatis. (Quarinus should stop the building-activities of the former Abbot).

⁴Cf. P.L. 196, p. IX.

Cf. *ibid.*, col. 1225 - 1230.

John of Toulouse supposes that Richard died in the year 1173, because as the prior of St. Victor, Richard signed some title-deeds in 1172, and the sources show that St. Victor had a new prior (Gautier) before the first month of 1174. The day of Richard's death is March 10, 1173. On that day the necrology of St. Victor reads as follows:

On the same day the anniversary of Richard, the prior of this community and an example in the elegance of sacred conversations and writings, and who, dying, left us a dignified memory of his name.⁵

This dignified memory of Richard's name among the canons of St. Victor can be seen in a poem written in 1348 by William of St. Landus, the twenty-second abbot.⁶ Another poem of praise was written in 1531 by John Bordier, the thirty-fourth abbot of St. Victor.⁷ In the following centuries Richard was regarded more as a mystical author than as a philosopher. Fritz doubts whether Richard's influence on Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas was as great as some authors assumed.⁸ However, Richard's importance for Alexander of Hales can be seen clearly in the many times the latter has quoted the former.⁹

Some authors show discord in their evaluation of this great Victorian and his writings. This discord will be discussed later in Chapter VI, "Liber

⁵P.L. 196, p. XI: "Eodem die anniversarium Richardi hujus Ecclesiae prioris qui exemplo sanctae conversationis et scriptorum elegantia dignam sui nominis memoriam nobis moriens reliquit."

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique, vol. 13, 2e partie, col. 296h.

⁹Ibid.

Exceptionum". In his introduction to Richard's works, Hugonin indicates some important features of this disagreement. He discusses varying opinions like those of the Benedictine monks, who compiled Richard's writings in the thirteenth volume of l'Histoire Litteraire de France, and also Dupin's viewpoints.¹⁰ The latter are more positive, and Hugonin calls the critique of the Benedictine monks exaggerated and a bit splenetic. Hugonin terminates his critique by stating that Richard is the successor of Hugh of St. Victor and that both have the same doctrine and similar methods, although Richard's erudition is less broad and less varied and his spirit not as encompassing as Hugh's; however Richard is more a mystical theologian and more a contemplative than Hugh. That does not mean that Richard excluded speculation and philosophy. This will be shown later. In this overall picture of Richard's importance for history his characteristic of being a mystical philosopher and theologian is obvious. This indicates that science and learning are means by which a person will be able to arrive at real love, which is the vital strength and the aim of the soul. Finally we might consider that Dante mentions our great Victorian in his Divina Comedia:

"See flaming next the glowing breath of Isidor, of Bede, and of Richard, who, in contemplating, was more than man."¹¹

¹⁰P.L. 196, p. XXX - XXXI

¹¹Divina Comedia, Paradise, Chant X, 130.

CHAPTER V

THE QUESTION OF AUTHORSHIP

Volume 196 of Migne's *Patrologiae Latinae* is called Richardi A Sancto Victore Opera Omnia, which assumes that it contains all of Richard's writings.¹ In the list of contents, "Elenchus Auctorum et Operum qui in Hoc Tome CXCVI Continentur", the writings of Richard are grouped into three different categories: his exegetical works; his theological works; and a miscellany.²

I st. Group:	col.
De praeparatione animi ad contemplationem	
Liber dictus Benjamin Minor	1
De gratia contemplationis, seu Benjamin Major	64
Allegoriae Tabernaculi foederis	192
Tractatus de meditandis plagis quae circa finem mundi evenient	201
Expositio difficultatum suborientium in expositione	
Tabernaculi foederis	211
Declarationes nonnullarum difficultatum Scripture	255
Mysticae adnotationes in Psalmos	265
Expositio cantici Habacuc	401
Expositio in Cantica Canticorum	405
Quomodo Christus ponitur in signum populorum	523
In visionem Ezechielis	527
De Emanuele	601
Explicatio aliquorum passuum difficilium Apostoli	665
In Apocalypsin Joannis	683

¹*Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Secunda in qua prodeunt Patres Doctores Scriptoresque Ecclesiae Latinae a Gregorio Magno ad Innocentium III. Exudebatur et venit apud J. P. Migne Editorem;* Paris 1855.

²*Ibid.*, vol. 196, col. VII-VIII.

2 nd. Group

col.

De Trinitate (col. 987 is marked mistakenly; it is	887
De tribus appropriatis personis in Trinitate (col. 892 should be . . .	992
De Verbo incarnato	995
Quomodo Spiritus Sanctus est amor Patris et Filii	1011
De superexcellentissimo baptismo Christi	1011
De missione Spiritus Sancti	1013
De comparatione Christi ad florem et Mariae ad virginem	1031
De sacrificio David prophetae	1031
De differentia sacrificii Abi a sacrificio B. Mariae virg.	1043
De gemino Paschate	1059
Sermo in die Paschae	1067
De exterminatione mali et promotione boni	1073
De statu interioris hominis	1115
De potestate ligandi et solvendi	1159
De judiciaria potestate in finali et universali iudicio	1177
De spiritu blasphemiae	1185
De differentia peccati mortalis et venialis	1191 ³
De gradibus charitatis	1195 ⁴
De quatuor gradibus violentiae charitatis	1207

3 rd. Group

Epistolae	1226
De eruditione interioris hominis	1229
Tractatus Exceptionum	1365

In this volume (P.L. 196), col. XIII, there is an introduction by Father Hugonin, who discusses the different works of Richard. He mentions that there are different editions of Richard's writings (Sept editions du Recueil des Oeuvres de Richard):

"The first is published in Vienna (1506) and is called incomplete. The second in Paris (1518), the third in Lyon (1534), the fourth in Paris (1550), the fifth in Vienna (1592), the sixth in Cologne (1621), the last edition of this series was published by Jean Berthelin in Rouen (1650). The last edition announces that it is revised and corrected by the canons of St. Victor (especially by Jean de Toulouse)."

³This writing is not mentioned in this list, but it is in the book at col. 1191.

⁴questionable (will be discussed later).

Hugonin comments that the edition by Father Migne is more accurate and more fully developed; moreover Richard's discourses are ordered more regularly. The division into three categories and the arrangement of the writings are almost the same as indicated by the Benedictines in l'Histoire Littéraire de France.⁵ After this introduction Hugonin discusses all Richard's dissertations as listed above. However, as far as the Tractatus Exceptionum is considered, Hugonin refers to his comments about Hugh of St. Victor's compositions, because this discourse is printed as an appendix to Hugh's works.⁶ This treatise will be discussed later because of its particular importance for secular learning in the Abbey of St. Victor, and because the question of Richard's authorship is very complicated.

Last but certainly not least is Jean Chatillon's contribution to the question of authorship. He can be regarded as one of the excellent specialists in Richard's writings, and his conclusions concerning the authorship have reliable authority. Chatillon holds that all the books which are ascribed to Richard in Migne's Patrologiae Latinae seem to be authentic; but here are some exceptions. It was not Richard but Walter of St. Victor who wrote De Super-excellenti Baptismo Christi; however, the prologue is Richard's. Chatillon also denies Richard's authorship of De Credibus Caritatis and claims that its author is still unknown. On the other hand, Chatillon ascribes Richard's authorship to some other writings which are listed among the books of Hugh of

⁵ Histoire Littéraire de France, t.XIII, ed. 1650

⁶ P.L. 196, col. 1365; Tractatus Exceptionum: "Vide inter appendices ad opera Hugonis Victorini, Patrologiae t.CCLXXVII, col. 193 - 225."

St. Victor. He mentions: The Liber Exceptionum and Sermones Centum, (P.L., vol. 177); probably two commentaries on Joel and Abdias; and an interpretation of The Acts of the Apostles.⁷

Hugonin also discusses a fourth group of Richard's writings, which are called "manuscripts". At first he comments on a long list of Richard's writings made up by Tritheme.⁸ Tritheme mentions some of Richard's works, which are not in the edition of 1650; at least some titles are different. However most of these titles are applicable to certain printed fragments of Richard's writings. Tritheme probably has given his opinion in accordance with manuscripts which contain only some extracts of the originals, as they are found in other sources. The manuscripts are:

"De Studio Sapientiae
De Profectu Monachorum
De Oratione Mentali
De Officiis Ecclesiae

De Quatuor Ventis
De Actibus Apostolorum
De Novitate Vitae
Epitome totius Biblias"

⁷Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche (Herder, Freiburg 1963): Jean Chatillon's article: "Richard v. St. Viktor" (Can. Aug): "...Richard hat ein umfangreiches Werk hinterlassen (P.L. 196, 1 - 1366); mit Ausnahme v. "De superexcellenti baptismo Christi", wo nur der Prolog von R. stammt (ebd. 1011 ff); das übrige verf. Walter v. St. Viktor), u. von der Schrift "De gradibus Caritatis" (ebd. 1195 bis 1208) eines unbekannten Autors, scheinen die WW, die ihm in P.L. zugeschrieben werden, alle authentisch zu sein. Seinen Schriftum sind mehrere WW hinzuzufügen, die unter Schriften von Hugo v. St. Viktor gedruckt sind; ein "Liber exceptionum" (ed. J. Chatillon, P. 1958) (eine Einführung in die hl. Schrift), eine Predigtsammlung "Sermones Centum" (P.L. 177, 899-1210) u. wahrsch. zwei Kommentare zu Joel u. Abd. (P.L. 175, 322 bis 406). Man muss R. auch eine "Erklärung v. Apg.", 12, 1-11, die sich unter den Werken von Fulbert v. Chartres findet, zuschreiben (P.L. 141, 277-306). Eine Anzahl von Sermones u. unedierte geistl. WW wird seit 1951 veröff. (Sermones et opusculs spirituels ineditis, Paris-Brügge 1951 ff.)

⁸De script. ecol. c. 375.

Montfaucon found two other writings in the library "Ambrosienne", which he ascribed to Richard.⁹ Their titles are "De laudibus B. Mariae", and "Incendium divini amoris". Among the manuscripts of Queen Christine Montfaucon also discovered "Richardi Secundi Canonici a Sancto Victore 'Liber poenitentialis'." This work can be compared with Richard's "De differentia Peccatis Mortalis et Venialis." The word 'secundi' (underlined), however, gives us the opportunity to mention that a second Richard of St. Victor was assumed to have lived c.1242. Hugonin calls that assumption an error, caused by Henri de Gand¹⁰ and Sixtus of Siena¹¹ who left out the attribute "Scottish" in their articles about Richard of St. Victor. Sanderus mentions other manuscripts by Richard.¹²

They are:

- 1) De Canone
- 2) Summa de Virtutibus
- 3) De Studio Sapientiae
- 4) De Septem Generibus Tentationum
- 5) Tractatus ad Novitios
- 6) Tractatus de Domo Corporis Nostri Spirituali
- 7) Sermones Octodecim in Aliquas Sententias Sacrae Scripturae
- 8) Sermones vel Tractatus Six in Psalmos et Alia Scriptura Loca
- 9) Sermones super Evangelia
- 10) Sermones Duo in Verba Matthaei; "Tolle Puerum et Matrem".
- 11) Sermones Dominicales
- 12) Sermones Dominicales per Totum Annum
- 13) Aliquot Sermones
- 14) De Passione Domini

⁹Bibl. Bibl., t.I, 523.

¹⁰De script. eccl. c.26

¹¹Bibl. S., p. 275

¹²Bibl. mss. Belg., part. I, 32, 67, 112, 117, 223, 245, 254, 325.

Finally, there are three articles in the catalogue of English manuscripts which have Richard's name on them.¹³ The titles are 1) "Sermones", 2) "Tractatus de Fide", 3) "Glossa Interlinearis in Math. and Marc." Hugonin states, that we do not have the means by which we can verify Richard's authorship of these manuscripts.

G. Fritz's article "Richard de Saint-Victor" in Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique mentions the same books of Richard as listed in the Elenchus at the beginning of volume 196 (P.L. col. VII-VIII).¹⁴ However, Fritz has a different order and listed Richard's writings in accordance with Kulesza in his La Doctrine Mystique de Richard de Saint-Victor.¹⁵ Fritz refers Richard's writings to their places in Patrologiae Latinae, vol. 196, and the columns are indicated without the errors of the Elenchus in volume 196. However, in his article Richard's writings are placed in different groups: the first group contains the writings about the internal life; the second group contains the theological writings; and the third group contains the so called opuscles which have an exegetical content. We see that Fritz, agreeing with Kulesza, differs from Migne's opinion about which works belong to which group. Richard's "Sermo in Die Paschae" is not given in Fritz's list, but it is included in "De Gemino Paschate". The reason why the "Epistolae" are not listed by Fritz is that these letters are not written by Richard, but are addressed to

¹³Cat. mss. Ang., p. III, n. 727, 4077, 6160.

¹⁴"Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique" (Contenant l'expose des doctrines de la theologie catholique; leur preuves et leur histoire), Paris-VI, Libraire Letouzey et Ane, 1937.

¹⁵Kulesza, La Doctrine Mystique de Richard de Saint-Victor, St. Maximus, s.d. (1925).

him. Fritz mentions that Kulesza has left out the "Tractatus Exceptionum" (this will be discussed in the next chapter). Fritz says that Richard's authorship of manuscripts found by Trithem and Montfaucon in Italian, German, and English libraries is very dubious.

CHAPTER VI

THE LIBER EXCEPTIONUM

The ancient editors of Richard's writings lacked the complete Liber Exceptionum of which the fragments are now dispersed among the books of Hugh of St. Victor. Through this lack of collation the ancient editors have contributed heavily to a misconception of the real image of him whom they wanted to make known. They not only deprived us of a manual, which would have been most characteristic of the Victorines as well as of medieval culture, they also deprived us of a document which would have been particularly capable of informing us about the origins, development, and significance of the author's doctrine.

Richard of St. Victor passed as one of the founders of what we call speculative mysticism, and the historians of medieval thought do not deny that this spiritual man was also a philosopher, a theologian, and an exegete. However, when the works, which traditionally are attributed to this great scholar, sufficiently inform us that he was all this, they hardly tell us the history and the genesis of his thinking and of his first inspiration, or the sources from which they may have sprung. It is true, Richard often omits mention of the authors, whose works he has read and utilized. Moreover, he does not inform us about the motives and the circumstances which have led him to compose or to publish his writings. He has often been regarded as a kind of prophet or inspired writer who could construct spiritual metaphysics of which the

elements came only from himself, from his own experience, or from his genius. It is certain that particular passages of his writings reveal to the attentive reader that he was not such a genius at all. Richard denies neither his role in the spiritual renewal of the faithful, nor his own creative thought. He seems aware of his contribution in the domain of theology and particularly in scientific exegesis where his role and his influence are less known. Sometimes, however, he mentions his teachers and masters, whose writings he had read and meditated upon frequently. Especially in those sections concerning the spiritual life does he speak fervently and with the competence of one who has reached those spiritual levels of the mystical life to which man is not able to ascend by his power alone; he declares that he does not have such experience and he refers his reader to those who are much more advanced than he on this point. Such declarations are to be taken with caution. Perhaps humility can explain them, or the legitimate desire to preserve a deep and ardent spiritual life from indiscreet curiosity. Meanwhile it remains that the metaphysics of Richard neither proceed merely from meditation and contemplation, nor from silent reflection on the traditional data of the faith; on the contrary, his metaphysics are born from concrete needs of a spiritual ideal of nature and the Liber Exceptionum gives us more insight into the quality of this ideal.

Man is made as the image and the resemblance of his Creator, we read on the first pages of that book which defines the whole spirit.¹ Man has been

¹Liber Exceptionum, pars I, liber I, cap. I, : "...fecit creaturam rationabilem, ut eam faceret beatitudinis suae esse participem. Fecit autem eam ad imaginem et similitudinem suam: ad imaginem suam secundum rationem, ad similitudinem suam secundum dilectionem. Ad imaginem suam secundum cognitionem veritatis, ad similitudinem suam secundum amorem virtutis."

created as the image of God by reason and knowledge and as the resemblance of God by will, love,² and immortality added to this double gift as a third one.³ Unfortunately sin has come and man is now deformed. His infirm body is now subject to necessity and death; his will does not turn itself spontaneously to the good, nor his reason to the truth. Thus man has to return to God and has to fight the threefold evil⁴ by which he is afflicted. He finds a threefold remedy for his evil.⁵ First, man will find some remedy for his infirmity by practicing "arts", especially mechanics which help him in his remedy and his needs. Further he will fight his concupiscence by obtaining painfully virtue. Above all he must battle against his ignorance by a positive search into science and wisdom, and by the acquisition of that knowledge without which every return to God is impossible. Thus human nature can be restored.⁶ That ideal, where the emphasis is laid so insistently upon the necessity of learning and knowledge, has been the origin of the man of St. Victor;⁷ that

²Ibid.

³Ibid., cap. 2: "...Tertium bonum fuit immortalitatis corporis..."

⁴Ibid., cap. 3, De Tribus Malis. "Sunt autem tria mala principalia que corrumpunt tria bona precedentia, scilicet ignorantia (boni), concupiscentia (mali), infirmitas (corporis humani)."

⁵Ibid., cap. IV, De Tribus Remediis: "Sunt autem hec: sapientia, virtus, necessitas."

⁶Ibid., cap. 5: "Propter ista autem tria remedia invenienda inventa est omnis ars et omnis disciplina. Propter inveniendam namque sapientiam inventa est theoretica. Propter inveniendam virtutem inventa est practica. Propter inveniendam necessitatem inventa est mechanica."

⁷Chatillon, Jean; Richard de Saint-Victor; Liber Exceptionum; Paris; Librairie philosophique J.Vrin; 1958: "Cet ideal, ou l'accent est mis avec tant d'insistance sur la necessite de la connaissance, avait ete, des l'origine, celui de Saint-Victor;"

monastery also wanted to be a school of science and wisdom as well as of virtue. It is without any doubt that this has been its originality and the cause of its influence and its moral and intellectual greatness.

At the same time, apart from the traditional monastic observance, which was obligatory to the religious and similar to the austere rules of Citeaux or Premontre, the canons of St. Victor were also taught not only to satisfy the curiosity of their minds but also to develop that ambition to restore their souls deformed by sin to the image of God. That assignment could be fulfilled by the religious in three principal ways: by the instructions, which were given in a successful school; further by sermons, almost daily, in the church of their monastery or in their chapter; and finally by public or private readings, which, in accordance with the old monastic tradition of the "lectio divina", often culminated in prayer or in contemplation. There is no reason to believe, that there were sharp differences among these three modes of the assignment. The religious walked easily from the instruction room to their church or to their monastery. The teachers themselves practiced these modes also. The Liber Exceptionum gives us a good example by showing us that the same master, professor, and preacher knew how to summarize his courses and sermons by making a kind of encyclopedia to teach and to edify simultaneously.

The Liber Exceptionum seeks to give that knowledge indispensable in obtaining a sound understanding of the Scriptures to the student, to whom the work is dedicated explicitly. We read this in the prologue of the "Pars Prima":⁸

⁸ Ibid., p. 96: "Incipit prologus. Accipe, carissime frater, exceptionum manus quod postulasti. Invenies in eomulta ex multis libris collectae, in

The beginning of the prologue:

Dear brother, take the gift of the excerpts, which you wanted. You will find in it much, what is collected from many books and what is well disposed in one series in the way reason demands it from the coherence of the senses, which being continued and connected is satisfactory useful for your liking for study. We fly over the fertile fields of the holy books and collect the preferable and we overlook little or nothing of what is necessary for your simplicity which is entering into the reading of the holy scripture. By what we have written we do not want to teach you grammar⁹ or the scholars, but we want to satisfy your request and your desire to help in your study on a better way. But we also want you to know that these writings do not glorify us but God and the holy doctors, from whose writings we have taken this, although we bring much what we have thought in our own way and have dictated with our own words. We have written in the following way. We have divided the whole series of this schedule into two parts. In the first part we have the material for the origin

unam seriem ordinate disposita, sibi prout ratio sensuum postulat coherentia, continuata et connexa, dilectionis tue studio satis utilia. Sacrorum namque librorum fertiles agros pervolantes et ex eis potiora queque colligentes, paucos vel nulla simplicitati tue sacre scripture lectionem ingrediententi necessaria pretermittimus. Per hanc autem que scribimus, nec grammaticos docere, nec sapientes volumus erudire, sed tue petitioni, tuo desiderio volumus satisfacere, tuumque studium in melius adjuvare. Sed et hoc tibi notum esse volumus quod de his que tibi scribimus nobis gloriam non damus, sed Deo et sanctis doctoribus ex quorum libris ea sumpsimus, licet multa ponamus que proprio sensu cogitavimus, propriis verbis dictavimus. Modum scribendi talem servamus. Total schedule hujus seriem in duas partes dividimus. In prima parte materiam habemus originem artium, situm terrarum, cursum historiarum ab initio usque ad nos decurrentium. In secunda parte materiam habemus sensus allegoriarum et tropologiarum secundum subjacentis lineam historie dispositarum."

⁹Webster's New World Dictionary: In Latin and Greek the term applied to the whole apparatus of literary study, critical and historical as well as linguistic; in the medieval period it came to mean "the study of Latin", hence "all learning as recorded in Latin" (of Grammar school in Brit. usage), and the occult sciences, as associated with this learning.

Cf. Lib. Exg., Part I, liber I, cap. XXII: "Logica dividitur in grammaticam, et rationem disserendi. Grammatica dividitur in litteram, syllabam, dictionem, et orationem...Grammatica est scientia recte loquendi."

of arts, the whole world situation, the course of history from the beginning until what happens now. In the second part we have the sense of allegories and tropologies along the line of the history of what has been disposed.

To be honest this knowledge is extremely varied, and the work includes not less than twenty-four books which are divided into two principal parts, of which the author very carefully gives us the order and disposition in his prologue:

We divide the first part into ten books. In the first book we discuss shortly the origin of arts and their division. In the second we show the terrestrial material and the divine scripture and how the terrestrial is subservient to the divine and their relation. In the third we describe the situation of the earth. In the fourth we bring the highlights of the divine history from the beginning until the birth of Christ. In the fifth are taken the origin, the course, and the end of the world-empires from the beginning until the birth of Christ. In the sixth we discuss the Roman emperors from Octavian until Trajan. In the seventh from Trajan until Constantine the Great. In the eighth from Constantine the Great until Zeno. In the ninth from Zeno until Charles the Great. In the tenth we discuss the origin and the kings of the Franks until Charles and from Charles until us.

We divide the second part of this work in 14 books. The first book concerns the mysteries of events from the beginning until Abraham....¹⁰

It is obvious that an encyclopedia of this kind could not be an original work. Richard declares that this book contains much information for which

¹⁰Chatillon, Liber Exceptionum; Ibid.; "Prima partem per decem libros distinguimus. In primo libro de origine artium et divisione earum breviter disputamus. In secundo materiam mundane et divine scripture, et quomodo mundana divine subserviat demonstramus, cum quorundam adjectione. In tertio situm terrarum describimus. In quarto summam historie divine ab initio usque ad nativitatem Christi ponimus. In quinto ortum, cursum, et occasum regnorum mundi a tempore quo ab initio esse ceperunt usque ad nativitatem Christi. In sexto tractamus de imperatoribus Romanis ab Octaviano usque ad Trajanum. In septimo a Trajano usque ad Constantinum Magnum. In octavo a Constantino Magno usque ad Zenonem. In nono a Zenone usque ad Karolum Magnum. In decimo tractamus de origine et regibus Francorum usque ad Karolum, et post Karolo usque ad nos."

"Secundum vero partem hujus per XIII liberos dividimus. Primus liber tractat de misteriis rerum gestarum..."

he accepts the responsibility; however he also recognizes that he has taken much from the ancient masters (Cf. the Prologue). Although he does not mention names, it is a matter of fact that a study of the sources of the Liber Exceptionum permits us to mark long texts which are borrowed directly from recent authors like Hugh and Adam of St. Victor as well as from older wise men like Raban Maur, the Venerable Bede, Isidore of Seville, Gregory the Great, or Augustine, all of whom were known to Richard through the medium of the glosses, which he certainly had seen. Altogether it is a convenient edition. It differs from the other writings of Richard, but the authorship is indisputable despite the inexact editing of fragmentary editions.¹¹

The Liber Exceptionum permits us to understand the intellectual and spiritual perspectives in which the great Victorian has undertaken a literary work, which elsewhere presents itself as more elaborate and more complete.¹² Moreover it reveals to us the principal readings of Richard and shows us from which materials the famous prior has constructed his work and which are the primary sources of his thoughts. Perhaps some people will reproach this book as being but a gathering of extracts deprived of originality. But this voluntary dependence with regard to a long tradition is perhaps for us most important. Still in the twelfth century the Liber Exceptionum testifies in favour of the unity of the medieval culture for which St. Augustine had established the design in his De Doctrina Christiana. Richard takes part of that

¹¹Chatillon, Ibid., p. 10: "...mais d'une authenticite incontestable depit des hesitations ou des affirmations inexactes des editions fragmentaires ..."

¹²Cf. The Didascalion of Hugh of St. Victor.

long encyclopedic tradition which originates from Boethius and goes through Cassiodorus and Isidore of Seville and bears its last fruits in the inexhaustible "Mirrors" of Vincent of Beauvais. And because philosophy, science, arts, geography, history, theology, and exegesis were synthesized here, perhaps awkwardly, but suggestively, the faithful of the Middle Ages always exerted themselves to consider the universe in all its dimensions, discovering that which was able to inform and to enlighten them about their own nature and their ultimate end, and finally recognizing a manifestation of God, Whose image they desire to rediscover within themselves and which the creation and the Scriptures at once manifest to them. To fully comprehend this book and to seize its importance, it would have been necessary to illuminate each of its pages with pictures taken from the various art forms which depict meaning so much more clearly. Thus we would have been able to feel that the Liber Exceptionum reflects the tone of this important culture, which is faith fond of the Unity and the Absolute, and which is fully alive to the optimism transmitted to us through the centuries from the Middle Ages.¹³

A. The Title and Some of the Sources of the

Liber Exceptionum.

A careful research into the text of the oldest and best manuscripts transmitted to us, invites us first of all to return to the Liber Exceptionum its original title and to examine the real nature of the Liber. The ancient

¹³Chatillon, Ibid., p. 10: "Ainsi eussions-nous senti a quel point le Liber exceptionum refletait cette culture prestigieuse, eprise d'unité et d'absolu, toute penetree de foi et, que, par dela les siècles le moyen age nous a leguee."

editors named it the "Liber Excerptorum", because some chroniclers suggested that the book was a gathering of "extracts" from the Fathers. However, those chroniclers had nothing with which to identify these "extracts". The defective glosses of Thomas of Bagnacaballo, who made Richard a canon of Latran, tell us nothing about the sources of the work. In fact the title of the Liber Excerptorum proposed by the manuscripts, suggest that it deals less with "extracts" in the real sense of the word, and more with course notes, perhaps registered by secretaries or students.¹⁴ The word "excipere" meant in the twelfth century that volunteers took notes from what they heard. A "Liber Excerptorum" is rather a note-book than a gathering of preferable parts. The title, which is difficult to translate, indicates to some extent the work's origin, which proceeds without any doubt from the teaching and preaching of the great Victorian. But otherwise it is not possible to decide whether the particular notes are made by the Master himself or by the auditors. Generally speaking it is believed that they are the Master's notes. In fact, in the prologue the Author insists on his personal part.¹⁵ However this remark served only to weaken his declarations which recognize honestly all other sources he had used.¹⁶

¹⁴Ibid., p. 68, footnote (I). ("Excerpt" derives from "excerpere", to pick out, choose) ("Excerptio" derives from "excipio" and has two meanings; 1 when the emphasis is on "ex" it means almost the same as "to take out"; 2 when the emphasis is on "capere" (to take), it has the meaning of making notes).

¹⁵Cf. p. 37 of this thesis: "...although we bring much what we have thought in our own way and have dictated with our own words."

¹⁶Ibid., p. 36. "You will find much in it, what is collected from many books and what..."

It is certain that this statement of Richard had incited the ancient editors to regard this Liber as a gathering of abstracts. This statement of Richard obliged us to look at the sources, which are easily identifiable. In fact, Richard has his preferred masters. In his philosophy (Liber Exceptionum, Pars Ia.),¹⁷ he is inspired above all by Hugh of St. Victor borrowing long fragments from "De scripturis et scriptoribus sacris" and "De tribus diebus" and "De Sacramentis" and especially from the "Didascalion" which provided him with many texts and information originating in particular from Boethius, Cassiodorus, and Isidorus of Seville, and also from St. Augustine, Cicero, Virgil, and Aristotle.¹⁸

In his geography (Pars Ia, lib. III) the Author of the Liber Exceptionum recognizes himself as a disciple of Isidorus of Seville, whose Etymologiae¹⁹ is known to him and quoted often, but he also made use of Hugh of St. Victor's "De tribus circumstantiis."²⁰ From this work he borrowed other long texts, and long lists of kings and princes or other persons. These originated perhaps from the Chronique of Eusebe and which took their place in the historical part (Pars Ia, lib. IV-X) of Richard's work. But he used even more the

¹⁷Cf. Chatillon: Liber Exceptionum, Pars Ia, lib. I - II.

¹⁸Cf. Patrologiae Latinae; Hugh of St. Victor's works in vol. CLXXV, VOL. CLXXVI, and Vol. CLXXVII.

¹⁹Chatillon; Liber Exceptionum, p. 69.

²⁰Ibid., footnote (6): (This work is not edited, but the authorship is proved by W. M. Green, "Hugo of St. Victor: "De tribus maximis circumstantiis gestorum" in "Speculum", t. XVII (1943, p. 484 - 493).

Chronicon of Hugh of Fleury.²¹ It is true, we never can be certain of having identified all the sources of the work. Generally speaking Richard is held responsible for certain chapters of his work, e.g. Liber I, cap. 1 - 5, where he defines so exactly the theological and pedagogical importance of his ideas. But he also is held responsible for a certain number of pages; e.g. Liber IV, cap. 6 - 9, which discuss the history of the Israelites. Richard used the Scripture directly without having to refer to any other author. For the rest the great Victorian contents himself by putting in order the material which he borrowed from his predecessors, and by making necessary transitions within his work.

Richard's role in editing the second part of the Liber Exceptionum is quite different. Although in the first three books he is much inspired by information from the Fathers, in the following books it is more obvious that he borrowed long passages from ancient authors who interpreted the Old-Testament, without mentioning their names.

²¹ Ibid., footnote (7), on page 69; (there is an ancient edition of this work: Hugonis Floracensis Chronicon ex Museo Bernhardi Rottendorfi, Monasterii Westphaliae, 1638;

Cf. P.L., vol. CLXIII, col. 805 - 851).

Table of Authors and Writings Used in the Liber Exceptionum.²²

Adam of St. Victor: "Prosa: Ave Virgo Singularia, Rex Salomon".

Aristotle: "Categorias."

Athanasius: "Symbolum."

St. Augustine: "Contra Faustum; De catechizandis rudibus; De diversis quaestionibus; Enarr. in Psalmos; in Johannem; Sermones."

The Venerable Bede (or Pseudo Bede): "De templo Salomonis; In Josue; In Judith; In I libr. Regum; In III libr. Regum; In IV libr. Regum; In Esdras et Nehemias; In libr. Tobiae; In Matthaeum; In Marcum; In Lucam; In Johannem; Quaestiones in libros Regum."

Boethius: "De arithmetica; De musica; In Aristot. Categor.; In Pophyr. Dialogus."

Cassiodorus: "Institutiones."

Cicero: "Rhetorica."

Glossa Ordinaria et interlinearis: "In Genesim; In Leviticum; In Deuteronomium; In libr. Josue; In libr. Judicum; In libr. I - II - III - IV Regum; In libr. I - II Esdrae; In libr. Tobiae; In libr. Judith; In libr. Esther; In Marcum; In Matthaeum; In Lucam; In Joannem."

Gratianus: "Decretum."

Gregory the Great: "Epistulae; In Evangelia; In Ezechielam; Moralia; Regulae Pastoralis liber."

Hieronymus: "Epist. LIII ad Paulinum."

Hildebertus Cenomanensis (or Pseudo Hildebert): "De vinea Evangelica."

Hugh of St. Victor: "Chronica" or "De tribus maximis circumstantiis; De nuptiis factis in Cana Galileae; De Sacramentis; De sacramentis legis naturalis et scriptae; De scripturis et scriptoribus sacris; De tribus diebus; Didascalion; Institutiones in Decalogum; Practica geometriae."

²²Cf. Chatillon; Liber Exceptionum; p. 539 - 544. Cf. the many notes in the apparatus of the sources in Chatillon's edition of the Liber Exceptionum.

Pseudo-Aug of St. Victor: "De bestiis."

Aug of Florence: "Chronicon."

Isidore the Spaniard: "Etymologiae; Quaestiones in V. T."

Joseph Flavius: "Ant. Jud."

Maximus (S): "Brevis enarratio Paschatis."

Origenes: "Hom. in Gen.; In libr. Jesu Nave; In Josue."

Paterius: "De expositione Veteris ac Novi Testamenti."

Rabanus: "In libr. Judicum; In I - II - III - IV Reg.; In libr. Judith;
In libr. Esther."

Richard of St. Victor: "De patriarchis (Benjamin minor); In Apocal; In Cant.;
Liber Exceptionum."

Sententiae Divinitatis.

Virgil: "Georgica."

B The Question of Authorship

Concerning the authorship of the Liber we can rely on the research of Jean Chatillon. He is a specialist in this matter because of the many studies he made of medieval manuscripts and their various editions throughout the centuries. His edition of Richard's Liber Exceptionum proves his mastership. As far as the question of authorship of the Liber Exceptionum is considered he states:

"The forty manuscripts of the Liber Exceptionum which we have found again and described briefly are almost unanimous and warrant the Ricardian authorship."²³

One of the witnesses is Vincent of Beauvais:

"He (Richard) has also written the book which is called "exceptionum" and which contains briefly the division and material of all sciences, and a historical series of all preceding periods, and moral teachings of the Scripture."²⁴

Other witnesses are Aubry of Troisfontaines and John of St. Victor. The latter stated clearly:

"He (Richard) wrote many subtle and useful books among which De Trinitate (6 books)...."Exercionum (8 books) are eminent."²⁵

²³Chatillon, Jean; "Richard de Saint-Victor, Liber Exceptionum, texte critique avec introduction, notes et tables." J.Vrin; Paris 1958, p. 71, V; "Problemes d'authenticite": "Les quarante manuscrits du Liber Exceptionum que nous avons retrouves et sommairement decrits sont apeu pres unanimes a nous garantir l'authenticite ricardienne." (Cf. p. 14-28; the list of the manuscripts).

²⁴"Speculum historial", ed. of Vienna, 1494, lib. XXVII, cap. 58, fo 360: "Scripsit (Richard) etiam librum qui dicitur exceptionum, in quo breviter continetur divisio et materia omnium scientiarum ac series historie precedentium temporum et quedam morales expositiones sacrarum scripturarum."

²⁵Chatillon, Liber Exceptionum, p. 73, footnote (1): "Scripsit volumina plura et subtilia et utilia inter que eminent De Trinitate Libri VI...item Exercionum Libri VIII."

John Tritheme also mentions the Liber among the works of the great Victorian; he called it "The 24 books of divisions or excerpts, which begin as follows: God is the highest good."²⁶ The problem is how it could happen that this work was almost forgotten completely as belonging to Richard, especially with the strong testimonies mentioned above. In fact there are editors who allowed Richard the first four books of the Liber and called them Tractatus Excerptionum. Hugh's editor published among the works of this Master the Primum Excerptionum Libri Decem, which are the first ten books of the Liber; however they could not convince the students of medieval literature, who remained in doubt.²⁷ Chatillon states that the examination of the manuscripts brings some insight into this debate and enables us to explain the reason for the differing opinions. He says that it was Richard himself who caused these troubles by not signing his name to his manuscripts. Later on one of the readers gave them Hugh's name. It was perhaps Richard's modesty which caused the anonymity. As far as the excellent research of Jean Chatillon is considered we can rely on his studies and accept his conclusions that Richard of St. Victor is the author of the Liber Excerptionum.

C Chronological Problems

Richard of St. Victor does not indicate the time at which he wrote his works. This is also true of the Liber Excerptionum. It has been necessary to

²⁶ Tritheme, John; De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis; (ed. of Cologne, 1546): Divisionum vel excerptionum libri 24. Inc.: Deus summe bonus."

²⁷ Chatillon: Liber Excerptionum, p. 53.

examine the different manuscripts, and by means of an internal critique and comparison we have been able to make some probable conclusions. This has been done by Jean Chatillon, an excellent specialist in this matter.²⁸ First of all he examined the titles of the different manuscripts and found that most of them correspond to the title "Liber Exceptionum Magistri Ricardi Canonici Sancti Victoris Parisiensis" (Lib. Exc. of Master Richard, Canon of St. Victor in Paris). Thus Richard is called "Master" and "Canon". His function as prior or subprior is not mentioned. Manuscripts of other writing of Richard do have the latter qualifications. Chatillon states that we may suppose that Richard composed the Liber Exceptionum before he was promoted, at least before he became prior, because the title subprior was perhaps not significant enough to be mentioned. According to John of Toulouse the author of the Liber was certainly subprior in 1159 and prior in 1162.²⁹ As a result we may suppose that Richard wrote this work before 1162 and perhaps before 1159. Chatillon holds that this work had been written between 1153 and 1160, and he denies a hypothesis of M. C. Robson who supposes that the Liber Exceptionum had been

²⁸ Chatillon, Liber Exceptionum, p. 77-81.

²⁹ P.L., vol. 196, col. X: "Richardus Canonici et prioris S. Victoris Parisiensis VITA, ex libro v. Antiquitatum ejusdem Ecclesiae, cap. 55 (Edit. opp. anni 1650, Rothomagi, in fol.), "Qui proventus aetate et sapientia ad officium subprioris ascitus fuit anno circiter 1159...et Nantero priore...Anno 1162, mortuo Nantero priore viro sanctissimo pridie Idus Junii, successor ei status est virtutibus aequalis, sed scientia praevalens Richardus noster, qui per undecim ferme annos officio prioris digne perfunctus est in prosperis et arduis ecclesiae nostrae negotiis"....(Haec ex scriniis chartarum et manuscriptis codicibus depronebat F. Joannes a Tolosa, canonicus Sancti Victoris Paris.)

published after Richard's death.³⁰ This hypothesis is based upon a study of Pecia, a literary item consisting of eight parchment sheets, but these Pecia were not used in those days according to Chatillon.³¹ And this makes Robson's hypothesis weak. Moreover Chatillon offers other internal arguments why Robson's theory is not acceptable. Finally he reiterates his conclusion that the Liber Exceptionum had been published between 1153-1162.

D The Success and Influence of the Liber Exceptionum.

Of all of Richard's works the Liber Exceptionum, especially the second part is indisputably the most impersonal and the least original. It is also the one of which the authenticity has been denied. Above all this work has had the most success, a fact testified by the considerable amount of manuscripts which could be found again or of which the remains are conserved for us. No other work of Richard has been copied so often. Chatillon has been told by father J. Ribailier, that he found only fifty manuscripts of the famous De Trinitate; and Chatillon himself did not find a hundred manuscripts of De Patriarchis (Benjamin Minor), which is supposed to be the greatest and most widespread of Richard's spiritual writings.³² It is not possible to make infallible statements as far as the success and influence of the Liber is

³⁰ Cf. Robson, C.A.; "The Pecia of the Twelfth Century Paris School" in "Dominican Studies, t. II, 1949, p. 267-279.

³¹ Chatillon; Liber Exceptionum, p. 80.

³² Chatillon, Liber Exceptionum, p. 81, footnote (1): "Aucun ouvrage de Richard ne parait en effet avoir ete aussi souvent recopie. Le R.P. J. Ribailier veut me dire qu'il n'a retrouve qu'une cinquantaine de manuscrits du celebre De Trinitate. De De Patriarchis (Benjamin Minor) qui parait avoir ete, de tous les traites spirituels du grand Victorin, le plus repandu, je n'ai retrouve cent manuscrits."

considered, however the number of volumes, the time of their appearance, the countries and institutes in which they are found indicate where and why the Liber has been appreciated. But we must face the fact that many manuscripts disappeared without leaving traces, and it is also possible that others still remain in libraries and have not revealed their secrets. We have to be prudent also with those we have now, in this sense, that the volumes are not copied always in those monasteries or institutes which seem to have been their oldest owners. With some reservations it seems to be legitimate to make some general inferences from the information we have.

First of all the Liber Exceptionum (in its original form) had only a limited success. It reached its climax at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century; more than half of the volumes we possess have been copied in that period. To the contrary, the fourteenth century did not show much interest in it. The work was regarded with favor again in the fifteenth century, but the explanation of that can be found in the high in-

in antique manuscripts prevalent in those days. It was not a deep and real interest in scholarship. We notice also that the latter manuscripts are found more in certain regions of Central Europe. This may indicate that indigent libraries of new institutes obtained needed books by manuscript copies.³³ In France the Liber became widespread and particularly in the regions north of the Loire, where more than half of them have been found; most of these

³³Ibid., p. 82, footnote (1): A dozen of mss. seem to be copied in the twelfth century, ten in the thirteenth century, and only four in the fourteenth century. Six of the eleven mss. of the fifteenth century have been copied in Bohemia, three in Austria, and two in Flanders and Germany.

are from the twelfth and thirteenth century.³⁴ There are twelve other manuscripts in Austria and Bohemia but they are of dubious origin. The Liber had not much success in the meridional countries (the south of France, Spain, and Italy) because they have not transmitted a single manuscript; the one in the library of Toulouse is probably of Parisian origin.³⁵

Finally the work seems to have penetrated to certain regions where interest in the work was high. Religious were especially interested in the second part of the Liber, "Allegoriae". The Cistercians made the biggest collection, especially those of the twelfth and thirteenth century. There are a dozen ancient and well-preserved manuscripts in their libraries; two in Cîteaux, two in Clairvaux, one in Foucarmont, one in Alne, one Warden, one in Revesby, two in Heilsbronn, and one in Reun.³⁶ The Benedictines transmitted to us six important volumes; one in St. Germain de Pres, one in St. Martin des Champs, two in Marmoutiers, one in Melk, one in H. Maria der Schotten, Vienna.³⁷ However, the Canons Regular seem not to have been interested very much in this work; the Abbey of St. Victor has only three manuscripts and two of them are not complete. The Premonstratensians have one single volume, but it is an ancient one. The renaissance of the Canons in the fifteenth

³⁴Ibid., footnote (2).

³⁵Ibid., footnote (7); (The fact that we did not find any of the mss. of the Liber in Italy and Spain does not give us the authority to conclude that these countries did not know this work. Good paleographers assured Chatillon that the ms. no. 17, Paris, B.N., lat. 2587, XIVth Century, is certainly from Italian origin).

³⁶Ibid., p. 82, footnote (8).

³⁷Ibid., footnote (9).

century does not seem to have moved these religious to renovate these old manuals, because there is only one volume of that period, and it was the property of the Canons Regular of Corsendonk.

There are copies of the Liber in the libraries of a certain number of Cathedrals, colleges, and universities, but these are often dubious and no particular care is taken of them.³⁸ Teachers and students surely preferred to go directly to the manuals of Hugh of St. Victor and to classical treatises of the Church's history, or to more complete Encyclopedias. The mendicant orders do not seem to have much interest in the Liber, because they do not have any manuscripts. The extraordinary rarity of related sources that they might have read or used directly with the Liber or the Allegoriae contrasts sharply with the abundance of manuscripts. In spite of some appearances,³⁹ the theologians and exegetes seem to have ignored these texts, and Richard does not appear to be of great importance to the historians. However, it may be that the Liber's influence was deeper in its contribution to the forming of medieval spirit than it appears. When we think of the medieval spirit and its affection for symbols and allegories we will understand the Liber's contribution from this point of view. Emile Male suggests in effect the Allegoriae is one of the works which perhaps have influenced the iconography of the Middle Ages.⁴⁰

³⁸Ibid., p. 83, footnote (2) (The one in Reims is certainly from the twelfth century, but it is not sure how it came to be in the library of this Chapter. The same doubt exists about the two in the Sorbonne (Paris), and the two in the Chapter of the University of Prague are dubious).

³⁹Ibid., p. 85, footnote (2).

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 85, footnote (5): (E. Male, L'art religieux du XIII^e siècle en France, 7^e edition, Paris 1931, p. 140. Chatillon mentions that Male should have listed also the Liber Exceptionum among the manuals, about which Male states that a reader can go deeper into the genius of the Middle Ages by becoming familiar with these manuals).

The Liber was also a source for preachers and according to Chatillon the Liber was one of the sources of Etienne de Bourbon's De Septem Donis (c. 1260), a sort of manual for preachers.⁴¹ The exegetical and doctrinal themes of the Liber were accepted and were useful for the Christian people who were fully alive to biblical and even theological culture. It is appropriate here to mention that Richard wanted to respond to certain pastoral needs, and that his work was used in this sense. For instance the French sermons of Maurice de Sully, Bishop of Paris (1160-1196), borrowed from the Liber many times.⁴²

These facts mentioned above indicate the influence of Richard's Liber Exceptionum, however, we do not have enough historical facts to make more statements about its importance for history.

E A General Intuitive Approach

The prologue of The Liber Exceptionum indicates that Richard as an instructor had a double task to fulfill: the exposition of secular and religious education.⁴³ Both are related to one another and the former culminates in the latter, which is stressed more obviously by the author. The relation between both will be discussed later. First we will examine the contents of the Liber as edited and proposed by Jean Chatillon (p. 97):

⁴¹Ibid., p. 74, footnote (3).

⁴²Ibid., and Ibid., p. 86, footnote (1), to indicate Chatillon's discussion with C. A. Robson's Maurice of Sully and the medieval Vernacular Homily, Oxford, 1952.

⁴³cf. p. 32 of this thesis.

The first book of the Liber concerns the origin and the division of Arts and it contains 25 chapters.

- 1 The condition of the rational creature.
- 2 The three goods.
- 3 The three evils.
- 4 The three remedies.
- 5 The three sciences.
- 6 Philosophy and its subdivisions.
- 7 Theoretics and its subdivisions.
- 8 Mathematics and its subdivisions.
- 9 Arithmetic.
- 10 Music and its subdivisions.
- 11 Geometry and its subdivisions.
- 12 Astronomy and Astrology.
- 13 Practice and its subdivisions.
- 14 Mechanics and its subdivisions.
- 15 The Fabrication of linen.
- 16 The Industry of weapons.
- 17 Navigation.
- 18 Agriculture.
- 19 The Art of hunting.
- 20 Medicine.
- 21 Dramatics.
- 22 Logic and its subdivisions.
- 23 How to deal with Arts.
- 24 The Inventors of Arts.
- 25 Magic and its subdivisions.

The second book deals with the material of the secular and the divine scriptures and that the secular subserve the divine in addition; it contains 10 chapters.

- 1 The material of the secular and the divine scriptures.
- 2 That the threefold visibility of the earth reveals the threefold invisibility of God.
- 3 The threefold way of consideration.
- 4 That the secular scriptures subserve the divine.
- 5 The significance of expressions and things.
- 6 Why the scripture brings the conditional work first.
- 7 The Creation of the world.
- 8 The four works of God.
- 9 The two Testaments.
- 10 Why the name Testament.

The third book comments upon the situation of the world and it contains 2 chapters.

- 1 The three parts of the world
- 2 Asia and its parts.

- 3 Africa and its parts.
- 4 Europe and its parts.
- 5 The mountains.
- 6 The rivers.
- 7 The islands.
- 8 The cities.

The fourth book reviews the history from Abraham until Christ and contains 13 chapters.

The fifth book concerns the kingdoms of this world from the time after the flood until the Romans became powerful; it contains 21 chapters.

The sixth book deals with the Roman Emperors since the birth of Christ, that is from Octavian until Trajan; it contains 13 chapters.

The seventh book deals with the Emperors from Trajan until Constantine the Great; it contains 23 chapters.

The eighth book discusses the Emperors from Constantine the Great until Zeno and it contains 11 chapters.

The ninth book concerns the Emperors from Zeno until Charles the Great and it contains 23 chapters.

The tenth book deals with the Franks and their Kings from the beginning of the Franks until Charles the Great; it contains 10 chapters.

The first book of the second part concerns the mysteries of events from the Creation until Abraham and contains 19 chapters.

The second book deals with the mysteries of incidents from Abraham until Moses and contains 29 chapters.

The third book touches upon the mysteries of occurrences from Moses until Josue and contains 22 chapters.

The fourth book comments upon the mysteries of events from Moses until Helcana, the father of Samuel and contains 10 chapters.

The fifth book reviews the mysteries of episodes from Helcana until David...; it contains 18 chapters.

The sixth book remarks upon the mysteries of incidents from David until Solomon and contains 25 chapters.

The seventh book concerns the mysteries of happenings from Solomon until the Babylonian transmigration; it contains 41 chapters.

The eighth book discusses the mysteries of occurrences and the content of the Book of Esdras; it contains 16 chapters.

The ninth book concerns the mysteries of what is contained in the books Hester, Tobias, Judith, and the Maccabees. It contains 4 chapters.

The tenth book contains 27 sermons.

The eleventh book discusses the gospels and contains 13 chapters.

The twelfth book deals with the gospels; it contains 19 chapters.

The thirteenth book treats of the gospels and contains 28 chapters.

The fourteenth book comments upon the gospels; it contains 20 chapters.

Looking at this long list of books one is almost tempted to interpret the relation between the two different parts (I - II) by himself. Although this one of the goals on an intuitive approach, it still is necessary to try to judge objectively. Thus we will have to look at what the Liber Exceptionum itself says about this relationship. As mentioned in this chapter the book itself gives the author's point of view. Richard will help a student in his study, and that is the reason for writing this work. However, the author likes to guide this student to a certain level. His educational purpose is expressed very well when he states that the value of reading lies more in one's own experience than in any other document.^{lll} The author does not want to

^{lll}Chatillon, Liber Exceptionum; Prologue of Part II, p. 213.

teach grammar or the scholars,⁴⁵ but rather the work is a preparation to serve as food for the soul in order to grow spiritually and to increase and to develop.⁴⁶

Our distinction between the two parts is perhaps too sharp based more on our cultural point of view. The distinction between secular and divine or profane and sacral was not so obvious in medieval thought. As has been noted, the Liber testifies in favour of the unity of the medieval culture. In this work we find the twelfth century spirit with which St. Augustine imbued his teachings as in his *De Doctrina Christiana*, and which permeates the works of Boethius, Cassiodorus and Isidore of Seville until the Mirrors of Vincent of Beauvais. In this spirit philosophy, science, arts, geography, history, theology, and exegesis come together in one synthesis. The universe is considered in all its dimensions discovering all that is able to inform and to enlighten it about its nature and its destination. Here is the recognition of the universe as a manifestation of God, Whose image those people want to find again in themselves and Whose image is shown to them by the creation and the Scriptures simultaneously. This culture is fond of the Unity and the Absolute, and is fully alive with faith and the optimism transmitted to us through the centuries from the Middle Ages.

Thus the Liber has two parts, but it is one book. However, when we compare the parts with one another we will see that there is a remarkable difference between them. The observer may become confused by asking himself whether his point of view differs that much from the author's because of the above emphasis on the unity of both parts. But Richard himself will admit that there is a distinction between "secular" (sic) and "divine" (sic), although

they are not opposite to one another. Dealing with mundane and divine scriptures Richard says:

"Indeed, the secular scripture contains the conditional work. The divine scripture contains the restorative work. Thus God's works are two: conditional work and restorative work. Conditional work is by which that is made in order to be, what was not. Restorative work is by which that is done in order to make better, what would perish. Conditional work is the creation of the world with all its elements. Restorative work is the incarnation of the Word with all its mysteries."⁴⁷

So we see the significance of conditional work, which is contained in the secular scripture and consists of showing the very fact that creation does not exist by itself. The characteristic of being created has a religious significance and refers to its Creator.

Thus the difference between secular and divine is to be understood that secular refers to the situation of being created and of being in need of the restoration. Restoration refers to the term "divine". We refer here to what has been said on pages 29-30 of this thesis.

"Man has been created as the image of God by his reason and knowledge and as the resemblance of God by his will and love, and immortality joined originally this double gift as a third one. Unfortunately sin has come and man is now deformed. His infirm body is now subject to necessity and death, his will does not turn itself spontaneously to the good, nor his reason to the

⁴⁷P.L., vol. CLXXVII, col. 203 C; "Exercitationum Allegoricarum" Libri XXIV, Pars I, lib. sec., cap. I; "De materia mundanae scripturae et divinae": "Sane scriptura saecularis materiam habet opus conditionis. Divina scriptura materiam habet opus restorationis. Duo quippe sunt Dei opera: opus conditionis, et opus restorationis. Opus conditionis est quo factum est ut essent quae non erant; opus restorationis est quo factum est ut melius essent quae perierant. Opus conditionis est creatio mundi cum omnibus elementis suis. Opus restorationis incarnatio Verbi est cum omnibus sacramentis suis."

truth. Thus man has to go back to God and has to fight the threefold evil by which he is afflicted. He finds a threefold remedy for his threefold evil. First, man will find some remedy for his infirmity by practicing arts, especially by mechanics which help him in his needs. Further he will fight his concupiscence by obtaining painfully the virtue. Above all he has to battle against his ignorance by positive research of science and wisdom, and by the acquisition of that knowledge without which every return to God is impossible. Thus human nature can be restored."⁴⁸

That is the whole purpose of the secular writings: to bring man's nature on a level whereby he will be able again to see himself as the image of God and to see God in His creation. The role of the divine scripture is to demonstrate how God manifests Himself in a special way and how God is acting to restore what is perishing. This is the sense of Richard's secular writing:

"For the cause of these three remedies all arts and all learning has been invented."⁴⁹

In this sense Richard places the writers of arithmetic among the disciplines of secular literature.⁵⁰

F Part I of the Liber Exceptionum.

Since Richard's outlook on secular writings has been shown, a special study of the Liber's Part I will be made, for this Part I is supposed to be a special discourse on secular writing. Looking at the many topics with which Part I is concerned the idea may occur that all these different topics are chosen at random. This may be true for some of them, however, the basic idea

⁴⁸Liber Exceptionum, Pars I, cap. 5.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Ibid., cap. IX: De Arithmetica: "Arithmetican scriptores saecularium litterarum inter disciplinas mathematicae ideo primam esse voluerunt...."

of this work is that the topics are disposed according to a particular structure. It has been noted that by sin man had lost his threefold natural good and so he is afflicted by a threefold evil (Cf. p. 62). To return to his natural state of being an image of God, man has to fight the threefold evil by means of a threefold remedy. The following table may give the reader an overview.

Threefold good	Threefold evil	Threefold remedy
Knowledge of God	Ignorance	Wisdom by Theoretics
Love of God	Vice	Virtue by Practice
Immortality	Infirmity	Necessity by Mechanics

Table II: The Threefold Remedy.⁵¹

This threefold disposition is the basic design for all the elements discussed in Part I. Although Richard states that philosophy is divided into four parts: theoretics, practice, mechanics, and logic,⁵² the last one, logic, is of more formal importance than the others and is related to theoretics. The end of logic is eloquence. It presents to scholars the vehicle wherein they might discuss the great ideas of the principal disciplines, and arrive at just

⁵¹Cf. Ibid., Part I, Lib. I, Caput IV; De tribus remediis.

⁵²Liber Exceptionum, Pars I, Liber I, Cap. VI; De philosophia et partibus ejus: "Quatuor igitur sunt scientiae, in quas omnis philosophia dividitur: theoretica, practica, mechanica, logica."

Cf. Ibid., Cap. V; De tribus scientiis: "Novissima autem omnium inventa est logica causa eloquentiae..."

and true conclusions.⁵³ All the other topics of the first book of Part I find their places within or their relations with the threefold distinction: theoretics, practice, and mechanics. Theoretics is divided into: theology, physics, and mathematics.⁵⁴ (Theology and physics do not have their own topics in this book, however they are discussed in Chapter VII.) Richard further divided mathematics into four disciplines: arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy.⁵⁵ Each one of them is discussed explicitly in Chapter IX, X, XI, and XII. In Chapter XIII "Practice" is described and considered under its various aspects of ethics, economics, and politics. Then follows the division of mechanics into seven different parts: the fabrication of linen, the industry of weapons, the navigation, agriculture, the art of hunting, medicine, and dramatics. At the end of the first book is an evaluation of magic, and Richard states that magic does not belong to philosophy, because it is a false profession by which the truth is misused.⁵⁶ The table on the following page

⁵³Ibid., Cap. XXII; De logica et partibus ejus: "Logica dividitur in grammaticam, et rationem disserendi. Grammatica dividitur in litteram, syllabam, dictionem, et orationem. Ratio disserendi dividitur in probabilem, necessariam, et sophisiticam. Probabilis dividitur in dialecticam et rhetoricam."

⁵⁴Ibid., Cap. VII, De theorica et partibus ejus: "Theorica dividitur in theologiam, physicam, et mathematicam...Eadem namque est theologia, intellectibilis et divinalis. Eadem est physica, physiologia naturalis. Eadem est mathematica, intelligibilis, doctrinalis."

⁵⁵Ibid., Cap. VIII; De mathematica et partibus ejus: "Quatuor sunt itaque species mathematicae: arithmetica, musica de sonorum propositione, geometria de locorum spatio, astronomia de astrorum motu."

⁵⁶Ibid., Cap. XXV; De magica et partibus ejus: "Magica sub philosophia non continetur, sed est foris, falsa professione de vero mentiens, et veraciter laedens, homines seducit a religione divina, culturam daemonum suadet, et ad omne nefas suos sequaces impellit."

presents a survey of the different disciplines, which are discussed above, demonstrating how they are related to the three principal disciplines, which are called "secular" but have religious significance.

Table III

A Scheme of Richard's Division of Philosophy
Into Different Disciplines

Discipline	Subdivision	Qualities
Theoretics	Theology	Divine
	Physics	Physical natural
	Mathematics	Intelligible doctrinal
Practice	Ethics	Solitary Moral
	Economics	Private Manageable
	Politics	Public Civic
Mechanics	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Fabrication of Linen. 2. Industry of Weapons. 3. Navigation. 4. Agriculture. 5. The Art of Hunting. 6. Medicine. 7. Dramatics. 	

CHAPTER VII

RICHARD'S OUTLOOK ON SECULAR LEARNING IN SOME OF HIS OTHER WRITINGS

The goal of this thesis is to find Richard's outlook on secular learning in general and not only in his Liber Exceptionum. However, it would go beyond the limits of this thesis to study and analyze all of Richard's writings in order to make our judgement as objective as possible. Let it suffice to make pertinent selections from the different books in order to deal with the most important ones for this particular matter. Perhaps the reader expects to find in the analysis of the following books the same structure and the same theory of secular learning as has been shown in our dealing with the Liber Exceptionum. But the reader has to consider that in those days there was not yet one great theory. Gordon Leff explained it this way:

"It was essentially an age of eclecticism, of taking different parts from different sources. It was also an age where the parts were still more in evidence than the whole; there were no great systems as yet."¹

However, even though Richard may not always have expressed his outlook on secular learning with the same words as in the Liber, there must be the same view on it because of Richard's convincing explanation shown above. With this

¹Leff, G.; Medieval Thought, p. 140.

idea in mind an analysis of some parts of Richard's writings has been made. The De Trinitate and De Eruditione Hominis Interioris have been searched to discover a confirmation of this hypothesis. The reader will consider that we deal with a different context and with a shifting of emphasis.

A. Richard's Theory of Learning in De Trinitate.

The De Trinitate is one of Richard's longer writings, which is exclusively speculative. Some specified analyses can be of great help to comprehend and understand Richard's original thinking about learning in general and secular learning in particular. Although this writing is specifically a theological one, there are many statements and theories dealing with an evaluation of philosophy and reasoning. The analyses here being made are more concerned with these theories than with the theological contents of this work.

Already in the prologue the author's point of view is expressed in the following words:

"We should try, always, insofar as it is good and can be done, to understand by reason what we hold in faith."²

The question arises, what does Richard mean by saying that we should try this understanding by reason insofar it is good and possible; or should we rather look for a more explicit explanation of the importance of reasonable arguments in Richard's doctrine? First of all Richard says that argumentations are not needed for obtaining the faith, because the revelation of the Father was

²P.L., vol. 196, col. 889 B C: "Mitamur semper, in quantum fas est vel fieri potest, comprehendere ratione quod tenemus ex fide."

attended with so many divine miracles that there is no place for doubts.³ These miracles confirmed the faith of the believers.⁴ On the other hand he indicates his esteem for philosophy and the philosophers of this world:

"Let us think with the same reason as they have studied, or insofar as the philosophers of this world have exceeded, we should be ashamed of the fact that we are found inferior to them in this matter. The Apostle (Paulus) testifies: "That what is known of God, is made evident to them, because that when they knew God, they glorified Him not as God." Thus they have known."⁵

Thus Richard accepts the fact that by means of philosophy man is able to reach God and to acknowledge Him. This insight must have impressed Richard very much, because he felt ashamed to be inferior to philosophers as far as rational arguments were considered. Then he tried to give necessary, reasonable arguments as far as the theology of the Holy Trinity was considered. He also indicated the need for such arguments by saying:

"Often I read that there is no God unless One Who is eternal not created, immense...and not divided into parts. I read about my God, Who is One and Threefold, One in Substance, but Three Persons; I read all this, but do not remember having read how all

³*Ibid.*, col. 891 C: "Sunt namque patribus coalitu revelata et tam multi magnis, tam miris signis vel prodigiis divinitus confirmata, ut genus videatur esse dementiae in his vel aliquantulum dubitare."

⁴*Ibid.*; "Utimur itaque in eorum attestazione seu etiam confirmatione signis pro argumentis..."

⁵*Ibid.*, col. 889 B; "Cogitemus quantum in hujus cognitione studuerunt vel quousque profecerunt mundi hujus philosophi, et pudeat nos in hac parte inferiores illis inveniri. "Quod enim notu est Dei manifestum est illis", teste Apostolo, "quia, cum cognovissent Deum, non sicut Deum glorificaverunt" (Rom. I, 21)."

this can be proved."⁶

Richard states that there are many authorities in this matter but fewer arguments. He also thinks that there are too few experiments. Richard does not say that he is able to give satisfying arguments, but he hopes to help the searching mind in some way.

"I hear about Three, Who are not Three Almighty, but One Almighty; ... I hear or read all this often, but I do not remember where all this can be proved; there are plenty of authorities in these matters, but not as many arguments; in these matters there are no experiments, and arguments are rare; I mean, therefore, that I have contributed something when I, by this study, will be able to help the searching minds in some way, even though satisfaction can not be given."⁷

In Richard's days the theology of the Holy Trinity had already a great history. In comparison with all the books which have been written about the Holy Trinity Richard's statement that arguments are rare is quite famous. We should not think that Richard was not well-read; on the contrary, P. de Regnon claims that Richard must have read the Greek Fathers because, generally speaking, his doctrine on the Holy Trinity is more in accord with the Greek concept than with the Latin Fathers.⁸

⁶Ibid., col. 893, cap. V: "Legi frequenter quod non sit Deus nisi unus, quod sit aeternus, increatus, immensus, ... non per partes divisus. Legi de Deo meo quod sit unus substantialiter, sed personaliter trinus: haec omnia legi; sed unde haec omnia probentur, me legisse non memini."

⁷Ibid.; "Audio de tribus quod non tres omnipotentes, sed unus omnipotens; ... Haec omnia frequenter audio vel lego, sed unde haec omnia probentur me legisse non recolo: abundant in his omnibus auctoritates, sed non aequae et argumentationes; in his omnibus experimenta desunt, argumenta rarescunt: puto itaque me non nihil fecisse, sicut superius jam dixi, si in huiusmodi studio studiosas mentes potero vel ad modicum adjuvare et si non detur satisfacere."

⁸P. de Regnon; "Etudes de theologie positive sur la Trinite"; t. II, p. 235.

Gordon A. Leff helps us to understand that Richard meant by his statement that arguments are rare. Leff reminds us of the great influence of Augustine on medieval thought and remarks:

"Strictly speaking St. Augustine is not a philosopher at all, nor did he create a system. Like all the early Fathers both Greek and Latin, his end was to defend and strengthen the faith. Scepticism, whereby he lacked any certitude, remains apparent in his distrust of all sensory and material knowledge and the realization that true faith comes only through inner conviction, independently of all external phenomena."⁹

There is some reason for Richard's complaining about the lack of rational explanations. The theologians of the early Middle Ages did more than defend and strengthen the faith as the Fathers did in their writings. There was also the influence of other famous men like Boethius, Cassiodorus, John the Scott, and St. Anselm. These are the men who certainly have contributed to Richard's wish to write on the Trinity with more rational arguments. At the very moment that Richard searched for more arguments, as the philosophers did, he referred to the Apostle Paulus.¹⁰

"For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and wickedness of those men who in wickedness hold back the truth of God, seeing that what may be known about God is manifest to them. For God has manifested it to them. For since the creation his invisible attributes are clearly seen - His everlasting power also and divinity - being understood through the things that are made. And so they are without excuse, seeing that, although they knew God, they did not glorify Him as God or give thanks, but became vain in their reasoning, and their senseless minds have been darkened. For while professing to be wise, they have become fools, and they have changed the glory of the incorruptible God for an image made like to corruptible man and to birds and four-footed beasts and creeping things."

⁹Leff, Gordon A.; Medieval Thought, p. 34.

¹⁰Cf. p. 60 of this thesis.

¹¹Rom. I, 18-24.

We may conclude that, like those philosophers, Richard looked upon the world to see clearly and to understand through the things that are made that which might be known about God.

In our day, generally speaking, we accept the idea that the direct contact the individual has with the outside world is through sense organs; in turn, sensory experiences are essential to concept learning. Although thinking and imagining may occur in the absence of direct and immediate sensory experiences, the content of thought and imagination is to some extent based upon previous experiences.

Richard accepts three ways of obtaining ideas of things. The first way is the so-called sensory experience (*experiendo*); the second way is by reasoning (*ratiocinando*); the third way is by faith (*credendo*).¹² Richard's threefold way of obtaining ideas will be more understandable when we know that there is also a threefold distinction in Richard's ontology.¹³ That means Richard accepts three modes of being, the first mode of being is what is not from eternity and, therefore, not by itself;¹⁴ the second mode of being is what is by itself and, therefore, from eternity;¹⁵ the third mode of being is what

¹² P.L., vol. 196, *De Trinitate*, Liber primus, ca. primus, col. 891: "Rerum itaque notitiam, ni fallor, modo triplici apprehendimus. Nam alia experiendo probamus, alia ratiocinando colligimus, aliorum certitudinem credendo tenemus,...."

¹³ *Ibid.*, col. 893: "Quod universaliter omnis modus essendi potest sub triplici distributione comprehendi."

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, col. 894, cap. VII: "De illo essendi modo, qui non est ab aeterno, et eo ipso, nec semetipso."

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, cap. VIII: "De illo essendi modo qui est a semetipso, et ipso ab aeterno."

is from eternity but not by itself.¹⁶ A very important point for our investigation is that Richard claims that this threefold distinction in the modes of being is to be made by reason.¹⁷ Richard is not just a pious man, but a faithful man who is looking for a reasonable understanding of the contents of his beliefs. However, we must keep in mind that he was not looking for explanations in order that he might believe; on the contrary, he believed in order that he might understand (*Credo, ut intelligam*), and within his faith the need for explanations remained, because faith sought understanding. The relationship between his faith and his need for rational explanations as an outgrowth and development of his faith is clear. Richard's standpoint is:

"I am firmly convinced that for the explanation of realities which are necessary in being, there must be not only probably reasons but necessary reasons, although sometimes they happen to escape our inquiries."¹⁸

Finishing some analyses of Richard's *De Trinitate* some general statements can be made. It is more than a hypothesis saying that Richard's outlook on the world is one by which all of creation is seen as a mirror of the Holy Trinity. Most of Richard's distinctions are threefold and he also stresses the

¹⁶*Ibid.*, col. 895, cap. IX: "De illo essendi modo qui est ab aeterno, nec tamen a semetipso."

¹⁷*Ibid.*, col. 893, caput VI: "Universaliter itaque omne est triplici distinguitur ratione."

¹⁸*Ibid.*, col. 892 C, caput IV: "Credo namque sine dubio, quoniam ad quorumlibet explanationem, quae necesse est esse, non modo probabilia, imo etiam necessaria argumenta non deesse, quamvis illa interim contingat nostram industriam latere."

unity within a threefold distinction. He accepts a threefold distinction in the modes of being, a threefold distinction in the way of obtaining ideas; in the Liber Exceptionum he claims that there are three invisibilities of God which can be seen in the creation of the world: potency, wisdom, and benignity, and these three are active as a unity.¹⁹ Further there is a threefold good in Richard's disposition, the evil is threefold, and there are three remedies. We find this threefold approach in all of Richard's writings. Even the divine Scripture deals with its matter in a threefold way according to Richard: as history, as allegory, and as tropology.²⁰

It has been said that in those days the monks ate their apples after they had cut them into three pieces. The great Gothic cathedrals, the monuments of medieval culture, have three front entrances and three naves, and their monumental stained glass windows have a threefold design. Richard's outlook can be seen as viewing all of creation as a mirror of God, and since revelation transmitted to us the essence of God as being the Holy Trinity, the essence of being and understanding, and living and learning is to be threefold and one.

Richard bears a strong resemblance to St. Anselm in his attempt to found all truth on necessary reasons. Like St. Anselm, he also started from the world of the senses in reaching necessary truths. This can be seen in his proofs for God's existence. The world of the senses presents a picture of constant change, of things coming in existing and vanishing, and which are

¹⁹Cf. Liber Exceptionum, pars I, lib. II, cap. II.

²⁰Ibid., cap. III: "De Scripturae divinae triplici modo tractandi."

therefore not eternal and cannot be self-caused. Thus there must be some eternal being from which these finite things are derived, otherwise there was a time when nothing was, and then things which were to be in the future were not, because there would be nothing which would have given or had been able to give them the principle of their being.²¹ The impossibility of such a situation shows that there must be a first principle, a first immutable being. We notice that Richard not only makes a statement but he also gives an argumentative explanation which appeals to reason. This reasoning starts by looking at the existing world to find the essence of its being. Through the things that are made it can be understood and clearly seen that which might be known about God. This is the way the truth is manifested to philosophers.²² This is Richard's outlook on learning.

B. Richard's Theory of Learning in the De Eruditione Hominis Interioris.²³

De Eruditione Hominis Interioris consists of three books. The translation of the Latin title is Concerning the Education of Man's Interior Life. This writing is not a speculative one, but is a typical tropological work; however, it is one of Richard's longer writings. Here, Richard gives the tropology of the books of Daniel in the Old Testament; he especially deals with

²¹P.L., vol. 196, col. 894, caput VI: "Quidquid enim ex tempore esse coepit, fuit quando nihil fuit: sed quandiu nihil fuit, omnino nihil habuit, et omnino nihil potuit; nec sibi ergo, nec alteri, ut esset, vel aliquid posset."

²²Cf. Rom. I, 18-24

²³P.L., vol. 196, col. 1229 D - 1366 A.

Nabuchodonosor, King of Babylon. To become acquainted with the situation we read the following parts of Chapter 2:

"Nabuchodonosor had a dream, and his spirit was terrified, and his dream went out of his mind. Then the King commanded to call together the diviners and the wise men, and the Chaldeans: to declare to the King his dream; so they came and stood before the King. And the King said to them: I had a dream, and being troubled in mind I know not what to say...

They answered again and said: Let the King tell his servants the dream, and we will declare the interpretation of it...

The King answered...since you know that the dream is gone from me... tell me therefore the dream, that I may know that you also give a true interpretation thereof.

Then the Chaldeans answered...there is no man on earth that can accomplish your word, O King, neither does any king, though great and mighty, ask such a thing of any diviner, or wise man, or Chaldean. For the thing you ask, O King, is difficult, nor can any one be found that can shew it before the King, except the gods, whose conversation is not with men.

Upon hearing this, the King in fury, and in great wrath, commanded that all the wise men of Babylon should be put to death...

Daniel went in and asked the King that he would give him time to resolve the question and declare it to the King. And he went into his house...Then was the mystery revealed to Daniel by a vision in the night: and Daniel blessed the God of Heaven...Blessed be the name of the Lord...for wisdom and fortitude are His...then He gives wisdom to the wise, and knowledge to them that have understanding...

After this Daniel went into Arioch, to whom the King had given order to destroy the wise men of Babylon, and he spoke thus to him; Destroy not the wise men of Babylon, bring me in before the King and I will give the solution to the King...And Daniel made answer before the King and said: The secret that the King desires to know, none of the wise men, or the philosophers, or the diviners, or the soothsayers can declare to the King. But there is a God in heaven that reveals mysteries. To me also this secret is revealed, not by any wisdom that I have more than all men alive: but the the interpretation might be made manifest to the King, and you might know the thoughts of your mind...

Then King Nabuchodonosor fell on his face, and worshipped Daniel... and said: Verily your God is the God of gods...and a revealer of hidden things."

One of the visions which Daniel interpreted suggested that there would be many kingdoms after the kingdom of Babylon but finally:

"But in the day of those kingdoms the God of heaven will set up a kingdom that shall never be destroyed, and His kingdom shall not be delivered up to another people, and it shall break into pieces and shall consume all these kingdoms, and itself shall stand for ever."

The allegorical interpretation is quite obvious: The King represents man who has to reign over this world.²⁴ Philosophy and wisdom should serve him here; Babylon is the kingdom of people who want to do all by themselves excluding the true God; Daniel represents contemplation by which man is able to come into close relationship with God.

In the first book of the De Eruditione Hominis Interioris Richard gives a tropology of the second chapter of the Book Daniel. He deals with it in forty-four chapters and takes the text successively in accord with the chronology of the story. The second book of the Eruditione deals with chapter four of the Book of Daniel, an introduction of which will be presented later. The third book of the Eruditione deals with Daniel chapter 7; it is not of great use for our research and will not be discussed.

1. Book I.

As introduction Richard declares why this work has been written.

"It is not unpleasant, if the tropological discussion of this matter shows how to form the reader in the knowledge of the truth and in moral discipline..."²⁵

The basic idea of the introduction is fallen nature, even for men of virtue,

²⁴Genesis; I, 28.

²⁵P.L., vol. 196, col. 1229 D: "Sed displicere non debet, si tropologica discussio ex eadem materia eliciat quod ad veritatis scientiam vel morum disciplinam lectorem aedificet."

and Richard proposes to help man in the restoration of soul; this restoration consists of three degrees:

"First a study of man's soul has to be made in order to rule over the affections; second in order to reign over thoughts; third so that the soul will obtain spiritualities..."²⁶

Now the importance of philosophy in this restoration of man can be illustrated:

"After having improved the king's soul he became used to reign over his desires and to give to deliberative arbitration his studies and his practices. In this way the king's soul called together all the wise men of Babylon, and in a close examination he saw the different disciplines as a unit, because all carefulness and research, which become divided into different studies and practices, are entirely for the sake of the heavenly doctrine."²⁷

Richard indicates also what may be the products of philosophy by recalling the King's remarks when he invited the philosophers:

"And the King answering said to the Chaldeans: 'The thing is gone out of my mind; unless you tell me the dream and the meaning thereof, you shall be put to death, and your houses shall be confiscated. But if you tell me the dream and the meaning of it, you shall receive of me rewards, and gifts, and great honour.'²⁸

²⁶Ibid., col. 1233, B C, cap. II: "Primum studium virilis animi esse debet, ut possit dominari affectionibus; secundum ut possit imperare cogitationibus..."

²⁷Ibid., col. 1234AB: "Regium profecto animam gerit, qui desideris suis incoerare, et studia, et exercitia sua pro deliberationis arbitrio disponere consuevit. Ejusmodi itaque animus regius omnes sapientes Babylonis in unum convenire facit, et diversas quodammodo sectas in unum per scrutinium cogit, quando omnem sollicitudinem, et inagationem (quas per varia studia, et exercitia dispergere consuevit) uni, et soli coelestis doctrinae negotio impendit."

²⁸Cf. Ibid., col. 1236 D, cap. IV.

The title of Chapter IV shows Richard's tropology at once:

"How in accordance with different outcomes of study people either have a break down or grow in vanity."²⁹

Richard also reminds us what can happen to a man who deals with learning and the restoration of his constitution:

"How after famous signs of learning the mind does not care anymore for both secular and spiritual doctrines, and gives itself totally to external occupations."³⁰

"It happens often that the soul, which was used to the speculation of divine revelations, changes because it became broken by a lasting fatigue; it not only fails in its restoration, but it does not care anymore for the study of it and in some way it lets the wise men down."³¹

This is to be seen in the very fact that the King became angry and commanded that all the wise men of Babylon should be put to death after they had failed to accomplish the King's word.³² Finally the whole of learning, exercise, and contemplation will be restored and made healthy by the divine revelation:

"After this (the revelation of the mystery) Daniel went into Arioch, to whom the king had given orders to destroy the wise men of Babylon; bring me in before the King and I will tell the solution to the King."³³

²⁹Ibid., "Quomodo secundum studiorum suorum successus, quidam se, vel enerviter deficiunt, vel inaniter extollunt."

³⁰Ibid., col. 1241 B, cap. IV: "Quomodo post praeclara saepe studiorum suorum insignia mens tam saecularium quam spiritualium doctrinarum curam deponit; et se totam ad sola exteriora negotia exponit."

³¹Ibid., col. 1241 D; "Sed fit saepe, dum illam quam amare consueverat divinarum revelationem speculationem amittit animus, diutina fatigatione jam fractus, non solum ejus in cujus reparatione defecit, sed quoruncunque studiorum curam deponat, et omnes sapientes suos quodammodo perdere disponat."

³²Cf. Ibid.

³³Cf. Ibid., col. 1254 A, cap. XV.

2. Book II

This book deals with Chapter 4 of the Book Daniel. It happens often that the Bible repeats itself by telling the same event in different words and by placing it in a somewhat different situation. The reason for that may have been that the composer had different sources from which he made one unit. In this book we have the same event as before: King Nabuchodonosor had a dream which he could not understand; the wise men of Babylon could not interpret it either; finally Daniel will give the solution. The tropological implication of this story is shown in Book I. Our particular interest this time is Richard's special statements about secular learning and philosophy, which are represented by the wise men of Babylon. Two chapters in particular will be dealt with, Chapters IV and XI. The approach will be the same insofar as Richard may speak for himself. Thus it will not be easy to misuse his writings for our own interpretation.

Chapter IV has the following title:

"Why it is necessary to lay aside secular learning and to change to spiritual investigation."³⁴

Here we find the tropology the Book of Daniel, Chapter 4, Verse 3:

"Then I (the King) set forth a decree, that all the wise men of Babylon should be brought in before me, and that they should shew me the interpretation of the dream."

And then Richard notes the importance of these wise men:

"To the wise men of Babylon belongs the wisdom of this world, which

³⁴Ibid., col. 1302 A, cap. IV: "Quomodo oportet saecularia studia deponere, et ad spiritualium investigationem convertere."

if foolish for God. To the wise men of Babylon belongs the prudence of the flesh, which is hostile to God. The wise men of Babylon are sharp in the scrutiny of world's philosophy. The wise men of Babylon are clever in conciliating the prudence of the flesh. Why should we introduce the wise men, unless for the sake of spiritual studies to use this sharp scrutiny of our investigation, which we normally use for our secular business? As what is exterior can be understood by outer senses, so what is internal can be understood by inner senses, otherwise it would not be possible to understand. Spiritual is internal, corporeal is external. We introduce the wise men of Babylon therefore, when we use external studies for spiritual understanding and spiritual investigation. Introducing the wise men of Babylon is setting aside external care for the sake of spiritual studies..."³⁵

It can be seen clearly that the attainment of secular learning is for the sake of the spiritual life. Now we shall observe how philosophers are an example for all research:

"We must notice that our wise men are in some way inside and in some way outside and still are beyond our ken...It happens often that after many usual studies the soul falls back into the old scrutiny and will delay the understanding of its meaning; this is when the wise men are beyond his ken. But without this doubt he will have the wise men in his ken, who in his study restricts all fortuity and in accordance with his deliberation accepts only useful and necessary

³⁵Ibid., col. 1302 C: "Ad sapientes Babylonis pertinet sapientia hujus mundi, quae stultitia est apud Deum. Ad sapientes Babylonis pertinet prudentia carnis, quae inimica est Deo. Sapientes itaque Babylonis sunt peracuta scrutinia mundanae philosophiae. Sapientes Babylonis sunt peracuta consilia carnis prudentiae. Quid itaque erit ejusmodi sapientes introducere, et ad interiora revocare, nisi peracuta illa investigationis nostrae scrutinia, quae solebamus saecularibus negotiis impendere, ad spiritualia studia convertere? Quasi enim exterius sunt, quae sensu exteriori percepi possunt. Illa autem valut intus sunt quae nisi interiori sensu omnino comprehendendi non possunt. Intus ergo spiritualia, foris corporalia. Sapientes itaque Babylonis introducimus quando saecularia, et quaelibet exteriora studia ad spirituales intelligentiam et spiritualium investigationem convertimus. Sapientes Babylonis introducere, est exteriorum curam postponere, et solis spiritualibus exercitiis studium impendere."

proposals."³⁶

The methodology of philosophy and its usefulness in thinking are shown as an example for the man who is becoming wise; that means he is looking for spiritual values and spiritual insight.

In Chapter XI Richard says:

"That secular sciences must assist in spiritual studies and must serve the growth of real devotion."³⁷

A tropological explanation is given in accordance with the following verse of the Book of Daniel, Chapter 4:

"Balthasar (Daniel), Prince of the Diviners, because I know that you have in you the spirit of the holy gods, and that no secret is impossible for you: tell me the visions of by dreams that I have seen and the interpretation of them."

Richard goes into the question of how it is possible that Daniel is called the "Prince of the Diviners" and still is able to give a good explanation of the dreams, because divination is regarded as being perverse:

"In these words we notice first of all that he who is called Prince of the Diviners is not only the superior of their group but also of all the other wise men of Babylon. We know that among the secular

³⁶Ibid., col. 1302 D: "Notandum autem quod sapientes nostri, modo intus, modo foris sunt...Saepe autem contingit ex multa studiorum nostrorum consuetudine animam ad inolita scrutinia incidentur recurrere, et antequam advertat quid intendat, multam ibi moram invectere, hoc est sapientes suos ante conspectum suum non habere. Sed ille absque dubio sapientes suos ante conspectum suum sistere facit, qui studia sua ab omni evagatione restringit, et juxta deliberationis suae propositum solis utilibus et necessariis impendit."

³⁷Ibid., col. 1310 B, cap. XI: "Quod saeculares scientiae debeant spiritualibus studiis subservire, et verae devotionis lucris militare."

sciences there are some useful and some necessary ones, but there are also some which are completely perverse (like divination). Is it not that a perverse science serves the devotion when the soul passes the time and becomes used to perish in these wicked studies and then by comparison concludes how the devotion to the spiritual studies must be...?"³⁸

The conclusion drawn is that the importance of science and learning to the spiritual life of the soul depends upon the intention with which their content is used. All are to be viewed as a unit and the parts must take their places in correct relationship to each other. Richard illustrates this viewpoint with the metaphor of the tree: the leaves are words, the fruit is science, and the eating of the fruit is doctrine.³⁹ All parts are necessary but they have to stay in correct relationship to each other. The eating of the fruit is related to the tree which bore it. In this sense Richard quotes St. Paul who says:

"To Greek and to foreigners, to learned and unlearned, I am debtor."⁴⁰

³⁸Ibid., col. 1310 BC; "In quibus verbis illud primo notandum, quod dicitur hoc loco princeps ariolorum, qui superius dictus est collega eorum, nec eorum tantum, sed aliorum Babylonis sapientium. In saeculares utique scientias quasdam scimus utiles et usui necessarias, quasdam vero (qualis ars ariolandi est) omnino perversas. Nonne perversa quaelibet scientia devotioni subserviret quando animus a semetipso tempora exigit quae in huiusmodi studiis ineptis perdere consuevit, quando ex comparatione colligit quantum spiritualibus studiis invigilare debeat,....?"

³⁹Ibid., col. 1311 CD, cap. XVI.

⁴⁰Ibid., col. 1315 A.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

In Joseph McSorley's An Outline History of the Church by Centuries is the statement:

"Richard of St. Victor (d. 1173) was so exclusively a theologian that he regarded secular learning with suspicion."¹

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate:

- a. The evidence upon which McSorley based this statement.
- b. The truth of McSorley's statement.
- c. Richard of St. Victor's evaluation of secular learning.
- d. The contribution of Richard's thought to an evaluation of secular learning in our days, especially since existentialism criticizes its value in a remarkable way by stating that much of our cultural tradition and our ideologies are self-deceit (*mauvaise foi*) and have to be destroyed.

a. As to the first purpose of the thesis, to examine the evidence upon which McSorley based his criticism, there is reason to fasten suspicion upon McSorley's use of sources, especially A. B. Sharpe's article "Richard of St. Victor" in The Catholic Encyclopedia.² In the following quotation the

¹(Herder, St. Louis and London, 1948) p. 355.

²(New York, Robert Appleton Company. 1912) p. 45.

words will be underlined, which McSorley may have used for his critique.

"Exclusively a theologian, unlike Hugo, he appears to have had no interest in philosophy, and took no part in the acute philosophical controversies of his time; but, like all the School of St. Victor, he was willing to avail himself of the didactic and constructive methods in theology, which had been introduced by Abelard.

Nevertheless, he regarded merely secular learning with much suspicion, holding it to be worthless as an end in itself, and only an occasion of worldly pride and self-seeking when divorced from the knowledge of Divine things."

It is not important to know whether McSorley borrowed his statement from Sharpe's article or not. It is of greater value to see the obvious differences between both quotations, which will be discussed in our discussion of the second question.

b. The second purpose of this thesis is to evaluate the truth of McSorley's statement. Richard indeed may have regarded secular learning with suspicion, but McSorley's statement is too general. Furthermore, he does not state specifically how Richard regarded secular learning with suspicion. It is to be noted that this has been done by Sharpe in his article. It would be incorrect to infer that Sharpe is saying that Richard holds secular learning to be worthless and an occasion of worldly pride and self-seeking. The truth is, Sharpe is saying that Richard holds secular learning to be worthless as an end in itself; and secular learning is for Richard an occasion for worldly pride and self-seeking when divorced from the knowledge of the divine things.

Again, this comparison of McSorley with Sharpe has been made to cause a clearer understanding of Richard's outlook on secular learning, which will be discussed next.

c. The third purpose of this thesis is to examine Richard's

evaluation of secular learning. A threefold (sic) answer will be given in accordance with the three main sources with which this thesis deals: The Liber Exceptionum, De Trinitate, and the De Eruditione Hominis Interioris.

Part I of the Liber Exceptionum in particular is regarded as a special representation of Richard's secular writings. His general idea of secular writing is: to bring man's nature on that level that he will be able again to see himself as an image of God and to see God in His creation; its function is restorative. Within this educational program Richard himself differentiates between secular and divine writings; the former refers to the situation of being created and of being in need of restoration; the role of the divine scripture is to demonstrate how God shows His face in a special way, and how God acts to restore what is perishing. Thus secular writings belong to man's nature; divine writings deal with the restoration of man's fallen nature by means of God's special intervention. However, both serve the real knowledge of truth and the perfect love of goodness. The interrelationship between secular and divine learning will be examined more intensively in the section dealing with the De Eruditione Hominis Interioris.

In Richard's De Trinitate two groups of important statements have to be considered as far as secular learning enters into the discussion. To the first group belong statements like the following:

"We always should try, insofar as it is good and can be done, to understand by reason what we hold in faith."³

³P.L., vol. 196, col. 889 BC.

"Insofar we can we should try to understand what we believe."⁴

"Let us think with the same reason as they (the philosophers) have studied, or insofar as the philosophers of this world have exceeded; we should be ashamed of the fact that we are found inferior to them in this matter."⁵

"I hear or read all this (about the Holy Trinity) often, but I do not remember where all this can be proved; there are plenty of authorities in these matters, but not as many arguments; in these matters there are no experiments and arguments are rare; I mean, therefore, that I have not done nothing, when I, by this study, will be able to help searching minds in some way, even though satisfaction can not be given."⁶

"I am firmly convinced that for the explanation of realities, which are necessary in being, there must be not only probable reasons but also necessary reasons, although some times they happen to escape our inquiries."⁷

To the second group belong statements like the following:

"If you do not believe you will not understand."⁸

"In these matters it is very astonishing that nothing is more certain and more stable than what we, faithful people, accept in faith."⁹

The interrelationship between faith and learning is that the latter will lead to more insight and understanding of what is held in faith; however this learning needs the faith to be able to understand the true meaning of the object

⁴Ibid., col. 889 B.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid., col. 893, cap. V.

⁷Ibid., col. 892 C, caput IV.

⁸Ibid., col. 891 B: "Nisi credideritis non intelligitis."

⁹Ibid., col. 891 C: "Sed hoc in his supra modum mirabile quia quotquot veraciter fideles sumus, nihil certius, nihil constantius tenemus quam quod fide apprehendimus."

of learning.¹⁰

We may conclude that Richard's evaluation of secular learning, as given in his De Trinitate, is in accord with St. Paul's viewpoint on philosophy and philosophers: God is manifest to philosophers and His invisible attributes can be understood through the things that are made.¹¹ This is the way the truth is manifested to philosophers, and this is Richard's general outlook on secular learning in his De Trinitate: through the things that are made it can be understood and clearly seen that which may be known about God.

The De Eruditione Nomine Interioris is one of Richard's writings which are more in accord with his way of thinking. In fact, Richard is not regarded as being a speculative philosopher by nature; his speciality is in the field of mysticism. However, as shown above, he is willing to exhibit his esteem for philosophy and secular learning, although he mentions also their limitations. Here, Richard gives the tropology of the Book of Daniel: King Nabuchodonosor represents man who has to reign over this world and render wise decisions; philosophy and wisdom should serve him herein; Babylon with its philosophers is the kingdom of the people who want to do everything by themselves, excluding the true God; Daniel represents the faithful man who by contemplation is able to come close to God and to explain the mysteries of life...This is discussed especially in Book I of the De Eruditione. In Book II it is clearly shown that the importance of secular learning is the deepening

¹⁰Cf. Ibid., col. 892 A.

¹¹Cf. Rom. I, 18-24.

of man's spiritual life by nourishing the growth of real devotion. Richard calls the secular sciences useful, and some even necessary, but only for the sake of the restoration of man's nature and his growth in spiritual life. Only then man will be able to understand the truth of life, which lies in a personal relation with God through contemplation. For this reason Richard finds it necessary sometimes to put aside secular learning and to change to spiritual investigation.¹² The conclusion is that the importance of science and learning depends on the intention of the learner. We can agree with Sharpe's statement that Richard holds secular learning to be worthless as an end in itself and only an occasion of worldly pride and self-seeking when divorced from the knowledge of divine things. The reader will consider that Richard's outlook on secular learning is not just that of a pious man who does not want to be disturbed by all kinds of strange theories, and who only hopes to keep his peace of mind by not becoming involved in the thoughts of others. On the contrary, Richard's viewpoint is that of a scholar who ascended into the heights of the spiritual life, one of the means of this ascension having been secular learning, which had to have been acquired to prepare himself for meditation and contemplation to make the discovery of the truth of life possible.

With the following quotation of Richard's Benjamin Minor we reach the very core of his thinking. The reader will consider that Richard speaks from the spiritual heights; thus this viewpoint is rather different from his point of view in the Prologue of the Liber Exceptionum where he addresses himself to

¹²Ibid., col. 1302 A, cap. IV.

a novice in the spiritual life; however, the difference is not essential but is rather a shift in the emphasis.

"No matter how great our knowledge of creatures, how otherwise does it compare with knowledge of the Creator, than as earth with heaven, as the centre with the entire circumference of the circle? Like this earth itself, this lower knowledge of lower things has its mountains and hills, its plains and valleys. Sciences, then, will be diversified according to the diversities of creatures. Let us begin with the lowest: the difference is doubtless great between one body and another, for there are celestial bodies as well as terrestrial; but the distance between body and soul is far wider than that between body and body, even though they may be very dissimilar. But even amongst souls some are reasonable and some are not. He, therefore, who considers only bodies seems to keep his eye fixed on the lowest things, but when he turns to the study of spiritual things he ascends at once, so to speak, on high. The mind that would attain to this high knowledge must first and foremost seek to know itself. To know oneself perfectly is most high knowledge; full comprehension of a rational spirit is a mighty mountain. It overtops all human sciences, it looks down on all philosophy, on all knowledge of the world. Did Aristotle ever discover it? Did Plato? Did the whole brood of philosophers ever invent the like? In truth, without doubt, if they had ever ascended to this summit of their intelligence, if their studies had ever sufficed them for true self-knowledge, they would never have given themselves up to the worship of idols, never bent the knee before a creature, never lifted up the head against the Creator...Learn, o man, learn to think of yourself, and you will ascend into a high understanding.

This quotation brings us finally to the point of the evaluation of Richard's outlook on secular learning and philosophy, which will be discussed in the last part of this investigation.

d. The fourth purpose of this thesis is to examine the contribution of Richard's thought to an evaluation of contemporary outlooks on secular learning. Some existentialists have criticized our cultural traditions and

¹³Ibid., Benjamin Minor, cap. LXXV, col. 53 D - 54 C.

Cf. Gilson, E.; The Spirit of Mediaeval Philosophy, (New York 1957) p. 221.

ideologies as self-deceit (*mauvaise fois*). They have suggested that these traditions and ideologies be destroyed, and in their place an existential philosophy constructed wherein man might experience his nullity, insignificance, and loneliness and more to meet the abyss of nothingness. Let us consider a few statements of some existentialists to explain the basis of their theories of education and learning.

"Existentialist knowledge is intuitive."¹⁴

"Like wise, the validity of knowledge is determined by its value to the individual."¹⁵

"But, says Sartre, there is no creator of man. Man discovered himself. His existence is first; he is now in the process of determining his essence. Man first is, then he defines himself."¹⁶

Sartre: "My freedom is the unique foundation of values."¹⁷

The way to the "authentic" life is for each individual being to begin realizing himself by asserting his individuality and making his own choices."¹⁸

As far as education is considered, the following conclusions are made within the realm of existentialist thought:

"The school in such order shall be the instrument through which the individual learns how to use this freedom..."¹⁹

¹⁴Park, Joe; Selected Readings in the Philosophy of Education, (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1964), p. 554.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 555.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 541.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 546.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 550.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 550.

"Sociologists are always arguing about how to improve society - by improving individuals or by improving social institutions. Existentialists clearly choose the former."²⁰

Cleve Morris mentions that the philosophical problem of existence has been touched upon in classical and medieval writings however it never came to the fore as a central philosophical theme until Soren Kierkegaard.²¹

Etienne Gilson guides us to the understanding of the relationship between Existentialism and medieval thought by speaking of: Self-knowledge and Christian Socratism.²² He reminds us that it was the Delphic Oracle from whom Socrates himself took the precept: "Know thyself." Interpreting the utterance as a program and a method, Socrates recommended his successors to seek after self-knowledge in order to become better men. This seeking after self-knowledge is the link between Existentialism and Socratism. And this seeking after self-knowledge was of great importance in Augustinian philosophy and medieval thought.

"You, who wish to know, know you that you are? I know. Whence know you? I know not...Know you that you think? I know. Therefore it is true that you think. It is true."²³

Everyone who is aware that he doubts, know the truth."²⁴

²⁰Ibid., p. 550.

²¹Park, Selected Readings in the Philosophy of Education, p. 539.

²²Gilson E., The Spirit of Mediaeval Philosophy (Gifford Lectures 1931-1932), Chapter XI: Self-knowledge and Christian Socratism, p. 209.

²³St. Augustine: Soliloquies, II, I.

²⁴St. Augustine: De Trinitate, X, 10.

It does not require much imagination to see how much of an existentialist St. Augustine is. The same can be said of many medieval philosophers. As far as Richard of St. Victor is concerned his existentialism can be seen in the following quotations insofar as he emphasizes that man must look within himself for an understanding of the good and the true; Richard will agree that knowledge is intuitive and he calls it a vision.

"He, who specializes in the divine wisdom and knowledge, will recognize that the value of reading lies more in his own experience than in any other document."²⁵

"As we are wont to see corporeal things by corporeal senses, as visible, present, and corporeal, so also can this intellectual sense grasp the invisible, indeed as visible, but immediately and essentially."²⁶

"Learn, O man, learn to think of yourself, and you will ascend into the heart of understanding."²⁷

The core of the similarity between Existentialism and Christian Socratism is the emphasis on self-knowledge; although the outcomes differ remarkably from each other, the approach may be called the same. However, there are some noticeable distinctions, which are characteristic for either Existentialism or Christian Socratism. The latter, for instance, bears an identification, which Gilson describes in the following sentences:

"...Christian thinkers took it up (the Delphic Oracle) and interpreted it in their turn... According to the Bible man is made to the image of God as being the Vicar of his Creator on earth. Because God made the world, He owns it as His property, and also governs it as His good pleasure; but He makes over a share of the

²⁵Liber Exceptionum, Prologue Pars II.

²⁶P.L., vol. 196, col. 118 D.

²⁷Ibid., col. 54 B.

government to man, who has thus a dominion over things analogous to God's... The real philosophical problem lies here: why is man capable of exercising this dominion...? Evidently, in the first place, it is because he is free and the other things he rules are not. But what then are the ultimate roots of his freedom? They lie in his intellect and understanding, in all that makes him able to shape his own course and exercise the power of choice, makes him, moreover, a possible subject of divine virtues and graces."²⁸

Thus, man is God's image because of his freedom, his intellect, and understanding, and all that makes him able to shape his own course. St. Augustine, however, reminds us that this experience of freedom does not lead necessarily to the conclusion that the soul is God's image.²⁹

"The spirit does not understand all by itself how it is God's image."
 "...I myself cannot wholly grasp the thing I am."

And Gilson states that there, for the first time in history of Western thought, man became to himself a wonder, an amazement:

"Perplexity seizes me".... What am I, then, O God, what manner of man am I."³⁰

And this last word of self-knowledge is the first word of God; God Himself must be present to the soul, whenever by His help it sees the truth. And now it no longer suffices to speak of the depths of the spirit; for here it opens on the Infinite, and reaches back into God. Richard of St. Victor expressed it by writing that the Christian man alone knows what it is that raises him above all creatures, for he alone knows by faith of what Creator he is the

²⁸Gilson, Spirit of Mediaeval Philosophy, pp. 210-211.

²⁹Confessions, Book X. "Mens ipsa non potest comprehendere, nec a seipsa, ubi est imago Dei,"

"...nec ego ipse capio totum, quod sum."

³⁰Ibid.

image.³¹

No one can study the medieval texts without being struck by the extreme importance attached to the question of the soul's self-knowledge by which man discovers the ultimate roots of his freedom, and exercises the power of choice that makes him able to shape his own course. Medieval thinkers have a high estimation for a personal experience and they hold, like the existentialists, that man must look within himself for an understanding of the good and the truth. However, those existentialists who are without faith will discover that by self-understanding man is left more exposed than he ever has been to the pains and agonies of his individual existence; they experienced that absolutistic doctrines, promising safety and security, have revealed a habit of disintegrating just when men needed them most. Richard of St. Victor would enjoy the fact that existentialists are seeking after self-knowledge, but he would feel sorry for them insofar as they will not go beyond the point of total loneliness. Richard holds that self-knowledge does not lead to man's experience of his nullity and insignificance; on the contrary, it causes man to experience that he is God's image. In this sense all of creation must serve man, and learning and philosophy are also to be the servants of man's kingship. Once more, the negative experience of man's nullity and the pains and agonies of his individual existence are not necessarily the outcomes of self-knowledge. In fact, it is only one possible outcome. Richard, like

³¹ P.L. 196, Benjamin Minor, col. 124 A: "...non propria industria, sed ex revelatione divina transcendit..."

St. Augustine and the many medieval Christian Socratists, represent gratefully the glory and magnificence of self-knowledge, because by this they experienced the true happiness of life, which does not depend on a doctrine but which is the fruit of the divine revelation.

If education is really concerned with what it is supposed to do, it will understand that Existentialism can be understood as a reaction against rationalization, totalitarian systems, and that kind of religion which regards God as the "control booth" of the universe. Through Existentialism the individual seeks existence according to his nature, and the very essence of man's nature is that he is free. This freedom is God's image to which man is made. And with Richard of St. Victor we have a man among many others, who experienced this mystery of life which bears within itself and reveals the true happiness.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Augustine, St. De Trinitate.

———. Soliloquies.

———. Confessiones.

Beck, Carlton E. Philosophical Foundations of Guidance. Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964.

Chatillon, Jean. Richard de Saint-Victor; "Liber Exceptionum". Paris, Librairie Philosophique, J. Vrin, 1958.

Dante. Divina Comedia.

Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique. Paris, 1903-1950.

Ehner, Joseph. Die Erkenntnislehre Richards von S. Viktor. Munster i.W., 1917.

Gilson, Etienne. The Spirit of Mediaeval Philosophy. New York, 1940.

Green, W. M. "Hugo of St. Victor: De Tribus Maximis Circumstantiis Gestorum." in Speculum, t.XVII, 1943, pp. 484-493.

Histoire Litteraire de France, t. XIII, ed. 1650.

Hugh of Florence. Chronicon (Cf. P.L., vol. CLXIII.)

Hugh of St. Victor. (Cf. P.L., vols. 175-176-177.)

Keller, George F. Existentialism and Education. New York: Philosophical Library, 1958.

Kulcsar. La Doctrine Mystique de Richard de Saint-Victor. St. Maximin, s.d. (1925).

Leff, Gordon A. Medieval Thought. The Merlin Press, London, 1959.

Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche. Herder, Freiburg, 1963.

Male, E. L'art Religieux du XIII^e Siecle en France. Paris, 1931.

Morris, Cleve. "An Overview: Existentialism and Education," Educational Theory, Vol. 4, No. 4 (October 1954), pp. 247-258

McSorley, Joseph. An Outline History of the Church by Centuries. B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis, Mo., 1948.

Park, Joe. Selected Readings in the Philosophy of Education. The Macmillan Company, New York, 2nd. edition, 1964.

Patrologia Latina. (Migne's). Paris, 1844-1864.
(Especially volumes 177 and 196.)

Robson, C. A. Maurice of Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily. Oxford, 1952.

-----, "The Pecia of the Twelfth-Century Paris School," in Dominican Studies, t.II, 1949, pp. 267-279.

The Catholic Encyclopedia. New York, Robert Appleton Company, 1912.

Theologisch Woordenboek. Uitgeverij J. J. Roman en Zonen, Roermond en Maastricht, 1958.

Trithem, John. De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis. (ed. Cologne, 1546.)

APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Reverend Wilhelmus G. Vrasdonk, has been read and approved by three members of the Department of Education.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

May 6, 1966
Date

John W. Wozniak
Signature of Adviser